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CONTENTS

PAGE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. By the VEN. ARCHDEACON W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., LL.D., F.B.A., *President*. (*Delivered February* 20, 1913.) THE GUILDRY AND TRADE INCORPORATIONS IN SCOTTISH TOWNS 1

Tribute to the late James Gairdner, V.P.—Progress of the Bibliography of British history—Contrasts between English and Scottish municipal history—Differences in degree and status between the Scottish burghs and English towns—Analogies between these—The guildry in Scottish towns—Analogy of, with the English staple—The varying status of merchant and craft gilds—The Scottish guildry drawn from a special class of craftsmen—Incorporated traders (crafts) in Scotland—The Masons' craft and lodge—Scottish masonry—Its organisation in the fifteenth century—Scottish craft guilds in the sixteenth century—Side-lights on English conditions—The position of the Scottish towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Apprenticeship in England and Scotland—Reflections on this system. APPENDIX—Architectural design during the Middle Ages in England and Scotland—and on the Continent—Use of plans by early architects—Conclusions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY. By PROFESSOR C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., F.B.A., *President* (1913-1917). (*Read May* 15, 1913) 25

Object of the present Paper—The earliest available sources for seventeenth-century history—Works compiled therefrom—Conclusions from an examination of these works as to the value of the earliest sources—Inaccessibility of official documents—Attempts to collect these sources—Position of contemporary historians of the seventeenth century in respect of these sources—New sources produced in the eighteenth century—Memoirs—Correspondence—State Papers—Use of foreign evidence—Facilities of access to the French and English archives contrasted—Early students at the State Paper Office—Foundation of Libraries containing manuscripts—Presentation of the Thomason Tracts—Promotion of historical students by the Government—Official publications during the eighteenth century—Position of historians at the close of the eighteenth century with regard to seventeenth-century sources—Eighteenth-

PAGE

century works dealing with the history of the previous century —Hume's History of England—The partisan historians in the early nineteenth century—Macaulay's History—Further discovery of sources in the nineteenth century—Publications of existing societies—The official papers of the seventeenth century made accessible—The Calendars of State Papers—The Historical MSS. Commission—Transcripts from foreign archives—Later nineteenth-century historians—Ranke and Gardiner's Histories—Conclusions.

ENGLAND AND THE POLISH-SAXON PROBLEM AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. By C. K. WEBSTER, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (*Read March* 13, 1913) 49

Materials available for the study of the work of the Congress —The main sources examined—Talleyrand's position at the Congress—Castlereagh's position and policy—The new balance of power in Europe—The questions of Saxony and Poland—The aims of Russia and Prussia—Initial failure of Castlereagh—His relations with his Cabinet—English public opinion on foreign politics—Talleyrand's policy—Castlereagh's renewed efforts—Divisions of the Powers—Attitude of England and Austria—Castlereagh's final dispositions—Practical success of his policy—Appendix of dispatches between Castlereagh and his Government.

CASTLEREAGH'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONFERENCES AT VIENNA, 1822. By J. E. S. GREEN, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (*Read December* 19, 1912). 103

General opinion as to Castlereagh's mission—His instructions from Canning—Production of the papers in Parliament—Sources of information for the proceedings at Vienna and Verona—Proceedings in Parliament—Wellington's position—The question of Spain—Papers laid before Parliament in 1822—Comparison of Castlereagh's instructions with Canning's speeches—Explanation of Castlereagh's position—Wellington's position—His movements in 1822—The English Government and French pretensions—Wellington at Madrid—English Ministers at Madrid—Résumé of Castlereagh's position and actions—The probable explanation of his failure.

THE PEDIGREE OF EARL GODWIN. By ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S. (*Read January* 16, 1913) 129

Wulfnoth—His descent and relationship with Godwin—Æthelmere, identified—Æthelweard, identified with the historian—His evidence—His family history—Godwine, his connexion with certain lands—The ownership of Bosham—Table showing the descent of Earl Godwin.

PAGE

Some Mercenaries of Henry of Lancaster, 1327–1330. By V. B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S. (*Read April* 17, 1913) . . 151

Sources for the study of the subject of this Paper—The sources examined—The military system of the period—Mercenaries of the period—Payments of troops—Movements of troops in 1326—Disturbances at London and Bury St. Edmunds in 1327—Complicity of Henry of Lancaster—Partisan movements—Fate of the insurgents—Appendix—Documents from the London Corporation Records.

Side-lights upon the Assessment and Collection of the Mediæval Subsidies. By Professor James F. Willard, Ph.D. (*Read June* 19, 1913) 167

Taxation in the thirteenth century—Progress of taxation in the fourteenth century—Principle of assessment—Special exemptions—Inconsistencies of the Mediæval assessments—Distinction between rural and urban assessments—Possible exemptions—The position of iron-wheeled carts—Composition of the County Tax-rolls—Detection of bribes in certain cases—Inferences from this discovery—Results of this historical investigation.

The Order of the Holy Cross (Crutched Friars) in England. By Egerton Beck, M.A., F.S.A.(Scot). (*Read November* 21, 1912) 191

Dissolution of the Community of Crossed Friars—Explanation of the title—Uses of the title in England and abroad—Early history of the Order of Cruciferi—Its progress—Its constitution—The status of the Canons—The Crutched Friars in England—Distinction from others of the name—English houses of the Order—Distinction of Ospring Hospital—Four houses of permanent character—Cells of a foreign house—State of the houses at the Dissolution of the Monasteries—Problems connected with the privileges of the Order.

Index 209

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Ven. Archdeacon W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A.,
President

Delivered February 20, 1913

THE GUILDRY AND TRADE INCORPORATIONS IN SCOTTISH TOWNS.

During the past year the Society has sustained one loss that overshadows all others. It is not for me to attempt to appreciate the value of the substantial contributions to the published sources of English history to which Mr. James Gairdner devoted himself so assiduously; I can only attempt to express the feeling which many of us here must share on the loss of our friend. I well remember the intense interest with which I read his 'Life of Richard III.' when it was first published in 1878, and the pleasure which I felt many years after in coming into contact with a man whom I admired so much. His constant kindliness and readiness to interest himself in and encourage the work of young men are not things to be readily forgotten. The chronicling of the blanks left in the roll of our officials and members is the saddest part of a President's duty. In my first address [1]

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd Series, iv.

I expressed our sense of loss sustained through the death of Dr. Charles Gross; at this distance of time we can see more clearly than was possible four years ago how fruitful his work was. This year great progress has been made in the attempt to carry on the Bibliography of British History which he began, and during the last few weeks I have been impressed anew with the freshness and thoroughness of his studies, as I have been trying to look into and amplify the argument of his essay on Scottish Municipal History.[1]

The differences between Scottish thought and habit and institutions and those in England only become intelligible when we try to trace their genesis; and the interaction [2] of one country upon the other has been an important factor in the modern history of both. Last year,[3] and the year before,[4] I directed your attention to some points of contrast between English and Scottish history—the late growth of Scottish as compared with English nationality, and the long-continued importance of the family as a unit in Scottish political life. But the contrast in the story of the northern and of the southern part of the island becomes still more striking when we concentrate attention on municipal history.

Though the differences are so deep, it is not easy to exhibit them clearly: we cannot generalise as if all Scottish towns were alike, or all English either. We know that Scottish burghs differed in status according as they were Royal burghs or burghs of Barony, and that each of the great towns in England lived to some extent its own life and made its own history. Still there are salient features which enable us to discriminate; they show that there were differences, not only in the rate of progress, but in the type of town which prevailed in the two countries, and in the internal constitution of the burghs in each. Scottish towns —not only in their later development but in their earlier

[1] *Gild Merchant*, i. 199. [2] *Cambridge English Literature*, iv. 302–307.
[3] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd Series, VI.
[4] *Ibid.* 3rd Series, V.

history—appear to have conformed to Continental rather than to English models.

There are many analogies between the burghs in the northern and in the southern kingdoms, but it is hardly possible to make any statement that holds good of both alike. Maitland has called attention to the intimate connexion of burgh and county organisation in England at the time of the Great Survey [1]; but north of the Tweed the burgh is, for the most part, the older organisation, and there never were hundreds and tithings in Scotland.[2] Maitland has also laid stress on parliamentary representation as the distinguishing feature which marked out English towns from villages [3]; but though Scottish burgesses can be traced back as far as the Parliament of Cambuskenneth in 1326,[4] their presence was somewhat of a formality, as matters of municipal importance were dealt with in a separate Convention. English towns were linked together by a system of affiliation,[5] and the daughter town might look to the mother for the interpretation of her customs; but for practical purposes each English town stood alone, while the Scottish towns were constantly co-operating for common objects. The more closely we look, the better we see how deep the differences lie. Survivals, which seem to be trivial or accidental, had their origin in a distant past and have often a real significance. The very name of Provost, as applied to the chief magistrate, suggests that no such revolution, as that by which the commons of London obtained the right of electing a Mayor, occurred in the north; and the elements of common good and corporate right go back to an ancient landed proprietary; these features have a closer analogy with Roman municipalities than with English burghs.[6] The recurring difficulty of securing good

[1] Maitland, *Township and Burgh*, p. 37.
[2] Goudy and Smith, *Local Government*, p. 10, note.
[3] *English Law*, i. 625; *Domesday Book and Beyond* p. 173.
[4] Innes, *Scottish Legal Antiquities*, p. 105.
[5] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 264.
[6] Compare Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 201, note 3.

administration in Scottish burghs, where neither royal nor popular control was effective, has been brought out by Lord Kames,[1] but there are special points where the difference is more conspicuous. In Leicester and other English burghs the steps by which the gild and the moot were merged together can be traced,[2] but in Scotland the Dean of Guild has retained distinct jurisdiction till the present time. Again, changes in Scotland do not correspond to those which occurred in English municipal life during Tudor times; the trade corporations in Scottish towns were not attacked or superseded, and mediæval conditions survived, and became the subject of legal proceedings during the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries.[3] In every period of their history there are contrasts rather than resemblances between the municipal institutions of the one country and those of the other. If we would try to understand them properly, it is necessary to follow the threads separately, though, by noting the contrasts from time to time, our knowledge of each type of muncipality will become more precise.

I.—The Guildry

The earliest trading rights of which we hear in Scotland were not conferred on the inhabitants of any particular town, but appear to have been granted to the men of a large area, within which some burghs existed and many others sprang up. Among the laws attributed to William the Lion there is one that refers to the 'merchants of the realm,' and ordains that they shall enjoy and possess their gild, with

[1] Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, iii. 464–471, quoted by Colston, *Guildry*, p. 198.

[2] Bateson, *Records of the Burgh of Leicester*, i. xlviii.

[3] Compare the case between the Guildry and Town Council of Edinburgh which came before Lord Cringletie in 1820 (Colston, *Guildry of Edinburgh*, p. 70). Also the case between the Goldsmiths and the Guildry about a diamond beetle, in Ramsay's *Sketches of Scottish Life and Character*.

'liberty to buy and sell within the bounds of the liberties of the burghs'[1]; and in the charters of the same monarch a similar state of affairs is revealed.[2] There had been a wide-spread organisation of traders in the Moray Firth, which was known as a Hanse, and King William confirmed to all his burgesses of Moray, and to all his burgesses dwelling north of the Mounth,[3] their free Hanse to be held when they chose and where they chose.[4] The exports of the country consisted of raw products—hides, wool and furs—which could not be easily transported in a land where there were no roads and few navigable rivers; and there was some organisation, along a stretch of coast, of traders who had certain privileges and doubtless corresponding responsibilities, and who were free to hold their gild assembly when and where they liked. We can dimly see in this early time signs of the localisation of this general organisation at particular centres, as well as the determination to maintain control over all branches of trade.[5] Efforts were made to force foreign traders to frequent particular ports, doubtless with a view of collecting the King's customs more easily.[6] Berwick appears to have been a great centre of trade in the thirteenth century. To Inverkeithing King William granted the exclusive right to levy toll along the coast of the Forth from the Leven to the Devon, and to Perth he granted exclusive privileges, for some trades and manufactures, over the whole county; Inverness, Edinburgh and Aberdeen had similar grants in their counties.[7]

[1] *Assise Willelmi Regis*, c. 39, in Innes, *Ancient Laws and Customs of Burghs of Scotland*, p. 60.

[2] Aberdeen (Acts, i. 78); Haddington (Charters, 1–3); Lanark, (Charters, 308); Stirling (Charters, 7–9).

[3] The Mounth is the range which runs east and west from Aberdeenshire to Ben Nevis; it separated the northern and the southern Picts. Mitchell, *Highlanders*, 16.

[4] E. Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, p. 32.

[5] *Statuta Gilde*, in Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65.

[6] Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 100, 110

[7] Innes, *op. cit.* p. xxxvii

We thus have evidence of the existence of general trading privileges over a stretch of country in which several burghs were included.

The nearest parallel to this sort of organisation in England appears to have been that of the Merchants of the Staple. The combination of privileges for trade and responsibilities for custom, and the changes of the place where the Staple was held back are all suggestive; and their rivals the Adventurers, with their filial houses in different ports, may have sprung from some such organisation. But the merchant gild in English towns was for the most part of a wholly different type: each town had its own gild merchant. The town of Ipswich was founded, and immediately afterwards a local merchant gild was constituted within it; in Scotland, on the other hand, it appears that ecclesiastical and other burghs were founded, or embraced, within the area where trade was already regulated by an existing gild. In the Scottish burghs, each town did not have its own gild merchant, but each burgh would have some inhabitants who were members of the merchant gild of the district.

This is a point of some difficulty, but it appears that membership did not so much depend on the nature of a man's occupation as on the question whether he was a substantial man or not, and an owner of property in the burgh. The right of practising the crafts connected with cloth manufacture at Perth was limited to those who were burgesses and members of the gild,[1] while in Aberdeen[2] and other places weavers, fullers, dyers and others were excluded from the gild. This was not improbably due to their being Flemings or other aliens.[3] On the whole, Colston[4] is probably right in saying that craftsmen who possessed estates of a certain recognised value might be members of the gild; but there does not appear to have been any such

[1] *Acts Scot*, i. 76.
[2] By a charter dated 1222, Bain, *Merchant and Craft Gilds*, p. 36.
[3] *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, i. 652.
[4] *Incorporated Trades*, p. 25.

restriction in English towns. A very large proportion of the inhabitants of Shrewsbury seem to have been members of their own gild merchant. In English towns the local gild merchant appears to have consisted of all who engaged in bargaining, either as buyers or sellers ; and it tended to break up into groups of those who were specially interested in dealing in particular kinds of raw material or finished goods ; the local organisations of Flemish weavers probably set an example for the formation of separate craft gilds. But the guildry in Scotland appear to have been the members of a special class within each burgh. In England the differentiation of the capitalist and dealing classes from the industrial, and especially the manual labourers, arose more and more clearly as time went on, but it seems to have been practically marked in Scottish towns from the first. And this is a matter of some importance. I had occasion to point out last year some reasons for believing that the rural population in Scotland had much more economic freedom than the villeins in England ; but we may also feel that the inhabitants of the Scottish towns had less political freedom and opportunity of self-government than the craftsmen of English burghs. Mr. and Mrs. Webb[1] have pointed out that the members of craft gilds were the aristocracy of urban labour, and that there must have been many of the inhabitants who had no part in them : in Scottish towns the whole of the industrial population seems to have been in this position, and to have been entirely under the supervision of provosts and baillies, in the election of whom they had practically no part. There would seem to have been comparatively little difference of status between the craftsmen in the town and the labourers in the country. The Scottish rural labourer had fewer disabilities than the townsmen, and the craftsmen in the towns had little political status.

[1] *History of Trade Unionism*, pp. 7, 8.

II.—Incorporated Trades (Crafts)

The earliest traces we find of the organisation of craftsmen in Scotland present a remarkable parallel to what has been already stated of the Hanse and Guildry; they were not specially constituted for a particular town, but established on a wider basis. The masons' craft is one in which both the combination and division of labour are requisite. The building of a castle or a church required the concentration of many men at the same place, for a time at least. Unlike other craftsmen, the masons did not separately produce marketable articles; access to a market was of no concern to them; they were usually paid by the owner who desired to have a building erected, through a contractor, for their *work* and not for their *wares*. Since they had to engage in combined work, there was need of organised labour, and of distinguishing marks to make clear what each contributed personally to the combined work. A Masons' Lodge was originally the shelter where operative masons met together to do their work, and a very interesting account of the contents of the Lodge and of the rules for the conduct of work has been preserved in the York Fabric Rolls.[1] But while there was special need of organisation, it was also necessary that the organisation should be flexible, and capable of adapting itself to the demand for labour at a place where work was being undertaken, and that men should not lose their status as craftsmen when a building was complete and the workmen had to change their place of residence. A system of signs was necessary by which a 'forcigner' could establish his claim to be a skilled workman, who might be taken on to join in mason's work.

The earliest traces of organisation among masons in Western Christendom[2] are found in connexion with ecclesiastical work; and the building of a great abbey tended to

[1] Edited by Raine for the Surtees Society.

[2] Compare my *Notes on the Organisation of the Masons' Craft in England*, read before the Economic Section of the International Historical Congress on April 4, 1913, and published by the British Academy.

provide a school of masonry.[1] Traces of a lasting establishment are found in the case of one great monastic house. The Abbey of Kilwinning seems to have organised a considerable school of masonry, and their workmen found employment in building operations in distant parts of the country. The reputation of the masons from this district seems to have been long maintained. The survivals of mediæval operative masonry in eighteenth-century Scottish Freemasonry[2] are very interesting; the primacy of Mother Kilwinning among the Lodges of Scotland, and the importance of the Canongate Kilwinning and Leith Kilwinning, all testify to the importance of the monastic establishment at Kilwinning in connexion with Scottish architecture and masonry. There does not appear to have been any similar ecclesiastical centre of the masons' craft in England; York was a home of masonry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there is a dim

[1] A masonic establishment was formed in connexion with many of the Continental religious houses. (H. Boos, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*; D. Ramée, *Hist. générale de l'Architecture*, p. 924, note; Janner, *Bauhütten*, p. 26.)

[2] The recognition of the masons' craft in a municipality, and the transition from operative masonry to freemasonry, are excellently illustrated in the case of Dundee, where there had been a centre of organisation. There were Dundee men who could undertake large works in the early sixteenth century. A Dundee mason, living at Dundee, was contractor for part of the building of Dunkeld Bridge in 1516 (Mylne, *op. cit.* p. 24), and we read of the checking of accounts and the seeking for masons through different parts of the country. Though Our Lady's Lodge of Dundee was a powerful body in 1536, and its rules for hours, etc., were accepted by the town in making a contract, there was no trade incorporation of masons in Dundee till 1659; the companies connected with the building traders are later and of different status from the other corporations there. The Lodge seems to have continued as an inner circle within the incorporation of masons, and love-brothers, who were not operatives, were received into the Lodge as late as 1734, when the Ancient Lodge of Degrees kept their S. John's Day Festival and elected the Master of Gray as Master; they also acted as the governing body of the operative masons and appointed officials to regulate the manner in which building was done in the town. The Ancient Lodge was acting even in the eighteenth century, not only as an inner circle of the operative company, but as responsible for its government. (Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, p. 582.)

tradition that craftsmen who organised operative lodges went out from thence as late as 1831,[1] but they do not seem to have been connected with the cathedral, and according to their tradition they originated under royal authority. Royal organisation certainly becomes prominent in Scotland in the later Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century a great deal of building was undertaken by the kings of Scotland, and they organised a sort of department of public works of which the royal Master Mason was the head, and he was apparently responsible for the design.[2] The palace at Linlithgow was begun in 1425,[3] and the Parliament Hall in the Castle of Stirling dates from 1473.[4] The names of the Master Masons have been preserved, and William Shaw, the Master of Works at Dunfermline, set out a body of Statutes [5] which must have been influential on the whole trade. It is clear that there had been ecclesiastical and royal organisation in the realm from the twelfth century onwards, so that municipal associations or corporations in connexion with masonry may be regarded as the localisation of an institution which had an ecclesiastical or royal character. It is thus that the building trades of the Wrights and Masons in Edinburgh were incorporated by royal charter in 1475, and had the altar of St. John the Evangelist in St. Giles' Church assigned to them [6]; they may be regarded as illustrative of the type of organisation which was instituted for the craftsmen in Scottish towns.[7]

[1] Carr, *Ritual of Operative Masons*, p. 11.

[2] See Appendix on Architectural Design.

[3] Mylne, p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 2.

[5] R. F. Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, ii. 385.

[6] Mylne, *op. cit.* p. 5. The name of Mary's Chapel, which they have commonly borne, probably dates from 1618, the time of the purchase of Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Close.

[7] The next of the Edinburgh crafts of which we hear, the Hammermen, who comprised all the trades concerned in equipping a knight and his horse for the field, obtained a royal charter in 1483. There was household organisation of these industries in Germany in the fourteenth century (Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, iv. 184).

The first attempt to give status to municipal craftsmen was made by statute in 1425, when handicraftsmen in their various arts were empowered to elect a deacon to preside over the rest of them[1]; but this Act was shortly afterwards rescinded as the office of deacon was pronounced to be of general prejudice to the kingdom, and the meetings of the crafts were condemned as assemblies of conspirators. It was not till 1556 that the Queen Regent granted a charter in favour of the crafts, and their right to elect their own deacons; and the relation of the incorporations of trades to the town authorities was only settled by the Decreet Arbitral of James VI.[2]

Throughout the Middle Ages, from the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, when craft gilds were the recognised authorities in London and other towns for the regulation of industry, the craftsmen in Scotland failed to secure any similar power of self-government in the affairs of trade. At the very time when Mary Tudor was trying to resuscitate the municipal life of decayed towns, Mary of Lorraine was trying to create some sort of industrial self-government in Scottish municipalities. Control over wares exposed for sale in the burgh markets appears to have been exercised by the guildry, while regulations as to the conditions of work fell within the jurisdiction of the police authority of the towns; but the craftsmen do not seem to have had any rights of self-government, or any share in the election of the burgh and guildry authorities who controlled the conditions of work in each burgh and the price of goods. The craftsmen had no voice in the regulation of prices, so that in Scotland there were market prices, and not reasonable prices built up on the basis of a living wage, as in England. The pre-Reformation religious element in Scottish trade incorporations was so slight that there was no excuse for breaking them up as superstitious; but, on the other hand, they offered a soil which was ready prepared

[1] See also Acts, 1426, c. 27.

[2] Colston, *op. cit.* p. xxxiv.

for the economic principles which found approval in Calvinism.[1]

The craft gilds in English towns had been for the most part allowed to make rules from year to year, and these were overhauled by the Mayor, or later by the Justices, in order to see that the regulations were reasonable. The Scottish incorporations of trades had a much more permanent character[2]; they were not mere voluntary associations which were recognised by authority and utilised for public purposes, but they were permanently incorporated, and had a definite constitution or *set*; their action was authorised once for all by a seal of cause. Between the rights of the guildry on the one hand, and the limited functions conferred on them by their set, the officials of a trade corporation had very little scope for their activities. They could condemn goods exposed for sale, but their right of search was very limited; they fixed the number of years which were necessary for an apprentice to acquire knowledge of any particular trade—and this differed in different callings; they fixed the nature of the essay or masterpiece which should be presented, but they do not appear to have had any of the police control which was exercised by the wardens of craft gilds in English towns.

III.—Sidelights on English Conditions

The attempt to trace the course of the developments of municipal life in Scotland may help us to understand some political conditions more clearly. The English towns were separate entities; they had a part in the constitutional government of the realm, but they were only gradually absorbed in national economic life. The Scottish towns were the local centres of a wide-spread organisation of

[1] Weber, 'Die protestant. Ethik u. der Geist des Kapitalismus,' in *Archiv f. Sozialwissenschaft*, xx. 50 and xxi. 16, 100.

[2] Mylne, *op. cit.* p. 7.

commerce which had its basis in royal grants; and the trade incorporations, in so far as they were not authorised by royal authority, were based on powers created by Act of Parliament. The Reformation period was marked by the facilities which were given for creating craft organisations in towns, while in England the craft gilds had already outlived their usefulness and were being superseded by national regulation; in so far as local associations were reconstituted in England, they were established on the Scottish type as permanent bodies with a definite constitution.[1] The Scottish towns had little regular part in the constitutional government of the country until the Union; but both in the time of Edward I and during the seventeenth century they were actuated by a strong feeling in favour of Scottish nationality, and they were able to obtain the trading privileges they desired by means of the Convention of Royal Burghs, which spoke for national trade interests. There was no need, north of the Tweed, to establish separate regulated companies, such as the Eastland Company, for particular branches of trade; James I of England, with his experience as James VI behind him, could not but be doubtful of the advantages of maintaining these regulated companies, and fell foul of the Merchant Adventurers. The ill-fated Darien scheme was a belated attempt to forge a weapon of an English type to stop the strangling of Scottish enterprise.[2]

Another question of general interest arises as to the reasons of the special importance that was attached to apprenticeship in English burghs. Both in England and in Scotland apprenticeship was regarded as a period of training, and in Scotland it was nothing more; the length of apprenticeship varied according to the time which was

[1] The industrial companies in the earlier Stuart time were incorporations founded by royal charter, or through municipal power conferred by royal charter; after the Restoration they were incorporated by Act of Parliament.

[2] T. Keith, *Commercial Relations of England with Scotland*, p. 163.

supposed to be necessary in order to train a boy for some particular craft. But in England apprenticeship was far more than this: it was an avenue by which a craftsman attained to the status of a freeman in the burgh where he worked; and with this view the custom of London insisted that the apprentice should serve for seven years, even though it might be possible to pick up a knowledge of his craft in a much shorter time. In Scotland, apparently, apprenticeship did not lead to status in the burgh, while in England it did. The element of training so far fell into the background in English towns that the custom of London allowed a very great deal of freedom in regard to the practice of any calling, whether a man had been apprenticed to it or not[1]; and judicial interpretation was brought to bear to allow a much greater freedom for change of calling than would at first sight appear possible under the statute of Elizabeth.[2] Whatever may be the original purpose of apprenticeship, it appears that the training of workmen for their calling eventually came to be a very subordinate element in England, and that the specific features of the institution, the precise length of service and so forth, were due to the status it conferred within an English burgh. The English town was a self-governing community, and had no relations of federal government with other towns; what the burgess valued was legal status in the place where he resided and access to the market. The sons of burgesses, trained in their father's house, obtained this legal status in their turn by patrimony, while apprenticeship was, in its essence, the means by which outsiders could obtain this same legal status. An indentured apprenticeship of seven years was the means by which a boy from the country could secure not only industrial training but the status of a burgess and the right to start business on his own account. The revival of some of the companies in the

[1] Compare the agreement in regard to an upholsterer printed in *Growth of English Industry*, i. 345, note.

[2] Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, s.v. Apprenticeship.

Restoration period[1] is much more easily interpreted as the utilisation of a half-forgotten channel to obtain, in a given town, legal status, which was not shared by Scottish and alien immigrants, than as either a proof of fresh anxiety in regard to industrial training, or as an indication of the expansion of particular industries.[2] A similar principle accounts for the prevalence of parish apprenticing in the late eighteenth century: formal apprenticeship might or might not be necessary for training a factory hand, but it was undoubtedly an instrument by which a parish would be relieved of responsibility for the maintenance of some of those who had legal claims upon it.

Adam Smith has called attention to the fact that the system of apprenticeship in Scotland was from his point of view more defensible than that which existed in England. He held that there was no country in Europe where corporations had so little power as in his own.[3] This opinion is all the more remarkable as, at the time when he wrote, the incorporations in Scottish towns were in full possession of their legal powers, while those of the craft gilds in England had fallen into abeyance long before. His disciples have been ready to re-echo his condemnation, but have not always recognised the need for discrimination. If we are to appreciate the institutions of bygone days, we must be at pains to understand their appropriateness to the conditions in which they sprang up and were maintained. The economic expert who turns his attention to history is tempted to lay stress on the sordid side of life: he has formed the habit of dwelling upon motives that are susceptible of money measurement; and when he sees evidence that a familiar motive is at work, he seems to think that everything is explained. He is content to stigmatise

[1] Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, pp. 110, 111.

[2] The expansion of Birmingham, Leicester, and other industrial centres in the seventeenth century may, perhaps, be connected with failure to enforce the system of apprenticeship.

[3] *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. I. cap. x. pt. 2.

the narrow spirit of monopoly in which the townsmen tried to secure their own advantage, and to pass on, as if no more need be said. But this is just the point at which, as it seems to me, the interest of such study begins. The desire to do something for one's own advantage may be taken for granted; it is always likely to be present in activities that have no claim to be heroic, and are merely human. Even when this is the dominant motive with any group of individuals, it is interesting to consider the conditions in which they lived, and to see how far political influences were at work to hinder or to encourage industrial activities. It is also worth while to inquire, as carefully as we can, How far any class or group gauged their own interests, immediate and prospective, correctly? and Whether their action affected the larger interests of their city, or their country, prejudicially or not? Up to a certain point the 'laissez faire' principle holds good, that what was for the benefit of an individual or of a group was also advantageous to the community. The manner in which private interests have co-operated for economic progress, and thereby for public good, has not been the same in every age or in every country. If we are content merely to look on the surface, when examining the conditions of industrial and commercial life in the past, we are likely to find in them a reflection of human nature as we know it in our own century. But if we penetrate deeper through these economic phenomena we may get to know something of the springs of national progress and the sources of national character.

APPENDIX

Architectural Design

When we consider how many accounts and other documents have been preserved with regard to building operations in the Middle Ages, it is rather surprising that we should be

left in such complete ignorance in regard to the plans and designs that were in vogue. It is indeed difficult for one who has no practical knowledge of the building art to be sure how far it was necessary that there should be plans at all, since it seems that 'the great Romanesque buildings could have been built by masons on the general instruction of a superior authority.'[1] The Master of the Work must, of course, have had a clear conception of the well-proportioned building he hoped to erect, but he may have been satisfied with laying out the plan of the building on the site itself, and giving such verbal instructions as were needed to the craftsmen, while the details were determined according to the style current at the time. But there must have been occasions when it was convenient for the Master of the Work to embody his conception in some form. It would sometimes be desirable to get the approval of the magnate for whom the building was to be erected; and practical purposes might also make it desirable to have some means of calculating the quantities of various sorts of materials that would be required, and of indicating to the masons, both rough and free, the carpenters, glaziers, and others, how they were to co-operate in the same building. In the fifteenth century (1459) at Strassburg it appears to have been the practice for those concerned to consider the design (*vysierung*) before the building was commenced, and the masons were bound to carry out the design as approved.[2] It is all the more difficult to see how the conception of the Master of Work could be embodied in any sort of design when we remember that knowledge of perspective was very imperfectly developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is only in the latter part of the fifteenth century that, under the stimulus of the desire to study ancient models, the art of architectural drawing came to be cultivated.[3] Yet 'the intricacies of Gothic vaulting, the setting out of groining ribs, liernes, tercents,

[1] R. Blomfield, *Architectural Drawing*, p. 11.
[2] Findel, *Freimaurerei*, p. 776.
[3] Blomfield, *op. cit.* p. 21.

and the like, tax the best abilities of the modern draughtsman, and it is difficult to imagine that no general scheme, plan, section or elevation of cathedrals so complete and homogeneous as Salisbury and Lincoln was prepared and produced on the works throughout the periods of their building.'[1] Under the conditions of the art then existing it is not easy to see how the artist's conception of a great Gothic building could be embodied in linear design so as to give the magnate a clear idea of what the building would be like,[2] or to serve as a basis for any arrangement with the craftsmen.

The problem may be dealt with most easily if we attack it retrogressively; and with this view it is worth while to cite the cases of two buildings at Edinburgh which were erected, the one in the later, the other in the earlier half of the seventeenth century. Holyrood House was built to be a Scottish palace for Charles II; the 'draughts' or drawings, as we should call them, were apparently executed by Robert Mylne in Scotland under general instructions from Sir W. Bruce, and then sent to the King for his approval.[3] These draughts have been preserved with some of the king's remarks when they were submitted to him. He liked corner fireplaces, a point in which John Evelyn did not agree with him.[4] So far as architectural practice is concerned, however, the methods of drawing are very similar to those of the present day; there are plans and elevations such as we are accustomed to see.

About George Heriot's Hospital, on the other hand, we have very little information, and this is all the more disappointing as the design is exceedingly beautiful, and this building was probably the first example erected in Scotland of work in this style. The scheme was the matter of much discussion before the building was begun. The Dean of

[1] R. Blomfield, *op. cit.* p. 12.

[2] We gather from the York Fabric Rolls that the 'forma' was approved by the Canons, and might not be altered in the Lodge without their consent.

[3] Mylne, *Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, pp. 164, 167.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 171.

Rochester, who acted as an executor under George Heriot's will,[1] and also the trustees in Edinburgh, were concerned in the matter; but there is no mention of 'draughts' or drawings at all; the word which is used is 'pattern,' and that term seems to be suggestive of an example[2] and model[3] rather than a drawing on the flat,[4] for which 'plot' or 'draught' would be ordinarily used. The Dean of Rochester sent a 'pattern' to the trustees,[5] and they engaged a contractor to carry out the work, while at the same time they left him an exceedingly free hand in regard to details of every kind. The first contractor, William Wallace, died shortly after the work was begun, and Aytoun, his successor, agreed to the following conditions:— He was not only to mould and carve himself with his own hands, but also undertook to direct and show others of the masons at the said work to hew, mould or carve, whatsoever work or stones be needful and requisite of the mason's craft and architecture of the same work, of the said hospital and belonging thereto. 'And to prosequite and follow furth the modell, fram, and building of the same wark, as the same is alreddie begun. And to devyse, plott and sett downe quhat he shall think meitest for the decorment of the said wark and paterne thereof already begun, where any

[1] Maitland, *Edinburgh*, p. 437.

[2] In the contract for the building of a chapel in St. Giles's the masons agree to make the vault after the pattern in Holyrood which they had seen. *Charters of St. Giles's* (Bannatyne Club, 1859), p. 25.

[3] Willis (*Architectural Nomenclature*, p. 23) takes the word 'pattern' in this sense as it occurs in the indenture for the tomb of Queen Anne (Rymer, *Fœdera*, vii. 795). Compare also Britton, *Architectural Dictionary*, s.v. Model, for instance, at Hengrave and Audley End.

[4] The word is used in 1352 for drawings on the flat in the case of patterns for stained glass. 'For two quarters of royal paper for the painters' patrons, 1*s.* 8*d.*' (Brayley and Britton, *Westminster*, p. 183, also p. 185.) For Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick compare Britton, *Arch. Ant.* iv. 11. See also Montpellier, 1367. Renouvier et Ricard, *Maîtres de Pierre de Montpellier*, p. 120.

[5] In June 1627 the governors resolved that the Hospital should be 'buildit conforme to the patern of the same given by the Dean of Rochester.' (Mylne, *op. cit.* p. 78.)

defect beis fund.' He was also to make with his own hands the whole moulds, as well of timber as of stone, belonging generally to the said work.[1] There has been much debate on the question who furnished the pattern, and it has been ascribed to Inigo Jones. However this may be, it seems clear that there was a considerable difference in the mode of operation as regards these two buildings erected in Edinburgh. It is worth while to consider whether any other mode of exhibiting a design was in vogue besides the use of drawings, and thus get clearer light on the meaning of the 'pattern.'

There is one English instance at a later date, when recourse was had to models and a ground plan as the best means of presenting the design of a building. In 1713, Hawksmoor prepared models for the new buildings which the then Provost of King's unsuccessfully endeavoured to erect; and the models were subjected to careful criticism on the spot, and submitted for the judgment of Wren.[2] They are still preserved in King's College Library, and are interesting as models which are not 'portraits' of an existing building, but which were made as designs for a projected structure. It is clear that, even when the art of architectural drawing had been as completely developed as it was in the eighteenth century, the use of a model to embody the design rather than of a mere elevation was still in vogue.

There are various suggestions of similar practice in earlier times and among builders on the Continent. The late Mr. J. W. Clark informed me that he had seen in the Rouen Archives that William Pontiz, the architect of the Library staircase of Rouen, was instructed to submit *devisam seu patronum illius gradus* for the inspection of the Chapter on the following day; and that, as required, *exhibitus fuit et apportatus penes capitulum patronus quidam*.[3]

[1] Mylne, *op. cit.* p. 116.

[2] Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, i. 558–9.

[3] April 28 and 29, 1479. Minute Book of Chapter of Rouen in Rouen Archives.

The *patronus* of the Library staircase is surely the same term as the *pattern* of Heriot's Hospital.

In the south of France the terminology appears to have been different, but the practice was the same. In 1586 the Architects and Masons of Montpellier endeavoured to restore the good order which had formerly existed in their mystery, and set about re-enforcing old measures. In particular they insisted that every apprentice should furnish a masterpiece; the authorities were to settle what it should consist of, and he was to make it under the eye of an appointed master, who should see that he really executed the work himself. The masterpieces were to consist of *monstres, modèles ou autre chose en architecture*[1]; 'samples' and 'models' are terms which are even less suggestive of drawing than 'device' or 'pattern.'

The accounts we have from Italy show that the mediæval methods of throwing open the design of a building to competition were somewhat different from those which exist in the present day. What was formerly normal has become exceptional. Many drawings were sent in of designs for Liverpool Cathedral, and hardly any models; but the Italian artists in the fifteenth century seem to have usually exhibited models.[2] The Florentines in 1418 offered a prize of 200 gold florins for the best *modellum sive designum*.[3] There appears to have been a considerable competition, and after various experiments Brunelleschi's model was adopted. A somewhat similar competition—though not, as it would seem, an open competition—took place a few years later over the designs for the choir, when various models were sent in (1453)[4]; for Milan Cathedral, also, a number of models were sent for inspection in 1383.[5] It would seem that these Italian architects were adhering to the practice

[1] Renouvier et Ricard, *op. cit.* p. 122.
[2] J. Burckhardt, *Geschichte der neuern Baukunst*, p. 91 f.
[3] C. Guasti, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, p. 15.
[4] L. Scott, *Cathedral Builders*, pp. 321, 323.
[5] *Ibid. op. cit.* p. 20.

which had been in vogue in still earlier times; Plutarch alludes to the employment of models (*παραδείγματα*) in architectural competitions in his day,[1] and the making of architectural models was familiar to the congregations to whom Gregory of Nyssa preached.[2] When Santa Sophia was being undertaken, Anthemius of Tralles, 'by far the most celebrated architect not only of his own but of all former times,' carried out Justinian's zealous intentions, organised the labours of the workmen, and prepared models (*ἐνδάλματα*) of the future construction.[3] It seems possible that the ancient usage[4] was perpetuated, and that architects in the mediæval world submitted designs in the form of models rather than drawings.

It is not, of course, contended that architects and masons made no use of plans drawn on the flat.[5] At York there was a tracing house, and tracing boards were in the lodge; but after all, these[6] are more likely to have been boards on which working drawings or templets were sketched, with chalk or charcoal, than boards on which plans were copied with tracing paper. Occasional elevations have survived from the close of the fifteenth century, as in the drawing of the intended campanile at King's,[7] but it seems probable that the architect's conception of the building as a whole was frequently embodied in a model, and not in elevations drawn on paper. The word 'pattern,' and its equivalents,

[1] *Scripta Moralia*, 498 E. *An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat*, 3.

[2] *In Christi Resurrectionem Orationes III.*, in Migne xlvi. 666 D. Compare also Hebrews viii. 4 and ix. 33.

[3] Procopius, *The Buildings of Justinian*, in the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, II. iii. 6.

[4] I am indebted to Professor Carr Bosanquet for referring me to Benndorf, 'Antike Modellen,' in *Jahrshefte des Oester. Archäolog. Instituts*, v. 178. On the other hand, Vitruvius mentions plans (Blomfield, *op. cit.* p. 11).

[5] Compare the cases cited in Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. v. p. 87 f, 'Dessins palimpsestes du xiii^m^ Siècle,' and vol. vi. p. 139 f, 'Construction des Monuments ogivaux.'

[6] *York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Soc., 17, 1181.

[7] Brit. Mus., Cott. MSS., Aug. I, i. 3.

such as 'form,' are ambiguous, but the number of models which have been preserved at Bologna and elsewhere [1] suffice to prove that this mode of exhibiting a design was occasionally adopted, and some considerations may be urged which seem to show that it was in more general use than is sometimes supposed.

1. The practice of representing the builder of a church as carrying his church as an emblem becomes very intelligible. If he has got the model, it is a fitting thing for him to carry, both physically and from its significance. If drawings had been common a plan or sketch would be the more appropriate emblem, and though this is occasionally found,[2] it does not seem to be very usual.

2. If drawings had been much used there would almost certainly have been entries in the accounts for the cost of parchment or paper [3]; but we can understand that the cost of material for a model made of clay, or even of wood, might be so small as to be neglected. This is a possible reason why so little mention of the 'designs' occurs in mediæval accounts; there was no occasion to enter them as a separate item.

3. It is also easy to see the reason of the close association between goldsmiths and architects; the biographer of John Murray, [4] who worked at Melrose, Glasgow, St. Andrews and Paisley, points out the affinity between these arts, and the two were combined in the erecting of magnificent shrines.[5]

[1] There is an elaborate model of S. Maclou in the museum at Rouen. For this and some following points I am indebted to my friend Mr. G. G. Coulton.

[2] One case is on the slab to Alex. de Berneval at St. Ouen, Rouen, and another on the slab of the sixteenth century architect at Caudebec.

[3] In 1382 the design of a proposed 'jubé' at Troyes was drawn on parchment and then was drawn on rammed clay. (Quicherat, *Mélanges Archéologiques*, ii. 206.)

[4] P. M. Chalmers, *A Scots Mediæval Architect*, pp. 35, 64.

[5] The shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury was one of the works of an incomparable artisan who was also responsible for architectural work at Wells and Salisbury. (W. Dane Bushell, *Elias de Dereham*, p. 15, in *Harrow Octocentenary Tracts*, xii.; Matt. Paris, *Hist. Min.* R.S. ii. 242.)

It was not only that architectural ornament occurs in silver work, and that portraits of celebrated buildings have often been executed in the precious metals,[1] but that the making of models for execution in the precious metals had much in common with the making of models for execution in stone. It is likely enough that George Heriot, the goldsmith, who was so eager to rival Christ's Hospital by his Edinburgh foundation, was himself the designer of the pattern which the Dean of Rochester delivered to the trustees.

4. Architectural drawings, in their mechanical character, would be a handy mode of representing the model and carrying it about; the elevation is the drawing of the *side* of the model; the plan is a tracing of its *base*.

5. Lastly, it is at least suggestive to consider whether the dependence of builders upon plans during the last three centuries has been altogether beneficial to architecture itself. In times gone by the affinities of architecture were with the plastic arts; in the seventeenth century it became a thing of copying the antique, and of delineation, and imitation and composition. Certainly, if the two buildings which have been referred to so much may be taken as typical of the results attained by two different methods of design respectively, we cannot but feel that Holyrood is lacking in the grace which distinguishes Heriot's Hospital.

[1] Demetrius the silversmith was a maker of shrines (*Acts* xix. 24). Compare Diod. Sic. xx. 14.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY

By Professor C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., F.B.A., *President* (1913).

Read May 15, 1913.

My purpose is to trace the development of the study of one particular century in our national history, to show how the knowledge we now possess of it was acquired; how gradually the darkness which overhung the time was dissipated and the truth part by part revealed, and finally by what hands this work was achieved; and by what general causes its progress was promoted or retarded.

To relate this process in detail would require more than one hour, but it is possible to indicate its stages and to explain its nature. We must begin by putting ourselves back into the position of the first men who tried to write the history of the period, and, forgetting what we know, consider only what they knew, and the sources from which they obtained their knowledge.

Practically the only sources of information available to the first historians of the period were printed sources. A man who in the latter part of the seventeenth century tried to write the history of the first part of it found a vast mass of printed materials in existence which he could use for his purpose. There were thousands of contemporary pamphlets—either controversial discourses about religion and politics, or narratives of battles, sieges, and trials. There were the manifestos of the two parties in the Civil War, widely circulated at the time in the shape of quarto tracts and folio broadsheets; there were also a certain number of speeches made in Parliament by the party leaders. Finally there were the newspapers, which became about 1641 a source of the first importance for the history

of events and opinions, but were sometimes free to say everything, and at other times only allowed to print what the government thought fit.

From these sources the first histories of the Civil War were put together, namely, May's 'History of the Long Parliament,' the 'Parliamentary Chronicle' of John Vicars, and Sprigge's 'Anglia Rediviva.' All were published as soon as the war ended, and confined themselves almost entirely to military history. William Sanderson's 'Complete History of the Life of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave,' published in 1658, and William Dugdale's 'Short View of the Late Troubles,' published in 1681, were compilations from similar sources, but they dealt with longer periods of time and devoted more space to political events. But the two contemporary compilations which attained the widest circulation were: James Heath's 'Brief Chronicle of the late Intestine War,' which went through about five editions between 1661 and the end of the century; and Sir Richard Baker's 'Chronicle of the Kings of England.' Baker's 'Chronicle,' it will be remembered, always lay in the hall window of Sir Roger de Coverley's house,[1] and was the authority he studied before he went to see the tombs in Westminster Abbey. It was a complete history of England, originally published in 1641, but brought up to date in its nine later editions by repeated supplements. The continuation of Baker, written by Milton's nephew Edward Phillips, was a source of real value for the story of the restoration of Charles II, because it was based on original papers supplied by Monck's brother-in-law, Thomas Clarges. A third contemporary historian acquired a more lasting reputation, namely Thomas Fuller. Fuller's 'Church History of Britain' appeared in 1655. He devoted books x. and xi. to the ecclesiastical history of the reigns of James I and Charles I, treating contemporary events with a moderation which gave these books a special value, though it did not save him from violent attacks.

[1] *Spectator*, number 269.

Another class of historians undertook not merely to relate events but to explain their causes, and to reveal what they called the secret history of the times. Arthur Wilson, in his 'History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of James I,' which he published in 1653, explained that he followed the example of Tacitus, and promised to draw the character of James with as much freedom as his exemplar had described those of Tiberius and Nero. Others frankly declared that Suetonius was their model, and collected all the scandals they could about the Stuart kings as he had done about the Cæsars. A series of such works was published, between 1649 and 1660: Sir Anthony Weldon's 'Court and Character of King James and King Charles' in 1651; Sir Edward Peyton's 'Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart' in 1652; Francis Osborne's 'Memoirs on the Reign of Elizabeth and James' in 1658.[1]

After the Revolution of 1688 a second series appeared dealing with the later Stuarts: 'The Secret History of the Reigns of King Charles and King James,' in 1690; Roger Coke's 'Detection of the Court and State of England during the last four Reigns,' in 1694; James Welwood's 'Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England for the last hundred years preceding the Revolution in 1688,' published in 1700. In the main these 'secret historians,' as they were termed, simply put into currency a mass of fabulous anecdotes and traditional gossip, which hindered rather than helped those who strove to write history, and they obtained too much credit.

More trustworthy materials were supplied by the early biographers: though they vindicated or glorified their personages they often wrote from personal knowledge, and sometimes based their lives on manuscript materials. To this class belong the Duchess of Newcastle's 'Life' of her

[1] These were reprinted and collected in 1811 under the title of *Secret History of the Court of James the First*, edited by Sir Walter Scott. Another work of the same kind by Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, remained in manuscript till 1839, and was then published by J. S. Brewer.

husband, published in 1666 ; Heylyn's ' Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Archbishop Laud,' published in 1668 ; Hackett's ' Scrinia Reserata ' (a life of Laud's great antagonist John Williams, Archbishop of York), which appeared in 1693 ; and Burnet's ' Lives of James and William Dukes of Hamilton,' published in 1677, which was founded on the family papers. There were also collections of brief biographies, such as those of Lloyd and Winstanley, but the most useful of all was Wood's ' Athenae Oxonienses,' published in 1692, which served as a sort of ' Dictionary of National Biography.'

These biographies were supplemented by the memoirs or recollections of persons who had played some part, small or great, in the events of the period, and wished to relate what they had seen or vindicate what they had done. Price's ' Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration ' and Lord Castlehaven's ' Memoirs ' of his part in the Irish Rebellion both came out in 1680 ; Whitelocke's ' Memorials ' were first published in 1682. After the Revolution the greater freedom of the Press encouraged the multiplication of such books. Sir William Temple's ' Memoirs ' were published in 1693 ; Laud's ' History of his Troubles and Trial,' written during his imprisonment in the Tower, saw the light in 1694, in the same year as George Fox's ' Journal ' ; Baxter's ' Autobiography ' was published by Sylvester in 1696, and Ludlow's ' Memoirs ' in 1698–9. In 1699 appeared also Sir Thomas Fairfax's ' Short Memorial,' Sir John Berkeley's ' Narrative of the Negotiations between the King and the Army ' in 1647, and Denzil Holles's vindication of the Presbyterian leaders whom the Army drove into exile.

Taking all these printed authorities together—contemporary pamphlets, chronicles, secret histories, biographies, and memoirs—it is evident that a man who undertook to write a history of the seventeenth century could put together a pretty full account of what happened, but that it must be necessarily rather superficial and general. He could not

go below the surface and explain either the causes of events or the motives of the actors; if he attempted to do so he had only biased personal memoirs and doubtful traditions to depend on, so that he was liable to misunderstand both the characters of men and the nature of events. He could not trace with any accuracy either the development of a policy, or the progress of a negotiation, or the influence of a particular man. For those purposes he needed the official correspondence and the private papers of the sovereigns, the statesmen, the diplomatists, and the generals, and none of these were available. Some were in the possession of their families, and some in the State Paper Office or other repositories of governmental records, but access to them was practically impossible. Occasionally a collection of papers came into the hands of the booksellers and was printed, and then it was read with avidity by all interested in public affairs. For instance there was the collection called 'Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government in Letters,' which first appeared in 1651. It consisted largely of papers that must have belonged to the Duke of Buckingham, together with various letters of the reigns of James I and Charles I, which the troubles of the Civil War had dislodged from their proper custody.

Attempts were made by compilers to put together collections of the authentic materials which historians and politicians needed. John Rushworth, in the preface to the first part of his 'Historical Collections,' which he published in 1659, gave as his reason for undertaking the work 'the impossibility for any man in after ages to ground a true history by relying on the printed pamphlets of our days, which passed the press while it was without control,' and the necessity of supplying more trustworthy evidence. In the first two parts of his collection and in the volume devoted to the Trial of the Earl of Strafford he did provide such material. But for the period from 1641 to 1649 he seems himself to have relied mainly on newspapers

and pamphlets.[1] John Nalson published in 1683, in answer to Rushworth, an 'Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State' in two volumes, but it only covered the period from 1639 to 1642. It contained, however, a number of authentic papers printed for the first time, some derived from the State Paper Office and others from the collection in the custody of the Clerk of the Parliaments.[2] Both collections, however, are of a miscellaneous nature, and mix the new and good evidence with older materials of less value.

To sum up, during the seventeenth century itself anyone who attempted to write the history of that period, or even simply to inform himself about it, was faced by the lack of trustworthy authorities at every point. On the other hand, during the course of the eighteenth century a great mass of new evidence came to light, and was printed, which elucidated nearly every disputed question, even though it did not completely clear it up. Above all, the new authorities which became available were of a far more trustworthy character than those hitherto accessible.

The new memoirs were of greater value than those which had previously appeared. First came Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' published in 1702–4, which threw a good deal of light on the character of Charles I and his party, and profoundly influenced later historians. Next came Burnet's 'History of his own Time,' of which the first half appeared in 1724 and the second half ten years later. Then, in 1759, came Clarendon's 'Life' of himself and with it the continuation of his 'History' from 1660 to 1667, which linked his work to that of Burnet.

A number of minor memoirs were published also: those of Sir Philip Warwick in 1701, of Grammont in 1713, of

[1] Rushworth's *Collections* appeared in four instalments, in 1659, 1680, 1692, and 1701.

[2] See the preface to the first volume of the *Calendar of the MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, published by the Historical MSS. Commission.

Sir John Reresby in 1734. Roger North's 'Lives' of his brothers appeared in 1742 and 1744; the memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, in 1759; and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Life' of himself in 1764.

Yet far more important was the publication of large and small collections of letters and State papers, not drawn from the national archives, but derived directly or indirectly from the families of the statesmen whose activities they recorded. They were so many that there is not space to enumerate them all. Every four or five years some fresh collection came out. The most important were Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' which appeared in 1736, and was preceded and followed by selections from Ormond's correspondence. In 1739 the two volumes of Strafford's 'Letters' were published, in 1742 the seven volumes of the Thurloe papers, between 1767 and 1786 the three volumes of the 'Clarendon State Papers.' Collections of less importance supplemented the greater ones, and filled up the gaps between them. The first forty years of the seventeenth century were elucidated by the publication of the letters of Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Sir Thomas Roe, and by the Sydney papers.[1] Thurloe's papers were supplemented in 1743 by the collection of 'Letters and Papers addressed to Cromwell' which John Nickolls printed, and in the same way the correspondence of Clarendon's two sons, Lawrence and Henry, supplemented in 1763 the State papers of their father. The letters of Temple, Danby, and Leoline Jenkins, with a series of volumes derived from Arlington's papers, elucidated the reign of Charles II. The materials for Irish history afforded by the Ormond, Strafford, and Thurloe papers were supplemented by the correspondence of Clanricarde, Orrery, Essex, and the second Earl of Clarendon.[2] Thurloe's papers elucidated the history of Scotland as well as that of Ireland and England, while Sir David Dalrymple's 'Memorials' relating to the History of Britain, Wodrow's

[1] Published respectively in 1725, 1757, 1740, and 1746.
[2] Published in 1757, 1743, 1770, and 1763 respectively.

'History of the Church of Scotland,' the letters of Robert Baillie, and the Carstares papers supplied new authorities for the historians of Scotland.[1] Finally the two volumes of miscellaneous State papers published by the Earl of Hardwicke in 1778 cleared up a number of incidents in the history of the seventeenth century which had been previously obscure.

Another feature in the development of historical studies during the eighteenth century was the commencement of a systematic attempt to employ foreign evidence to elucidate English history. The letters of La Boderie, French ambassador in England from 1606 to 1611; those of d'Estrades, who negotiated the purchase of Dunkirk from Charles II; those of D'Avaux, who was French ambassador in Holland during the reign of James II, and vigilantly observed all the actions of William of Orange—these letters had all been published in France or Holland during the early part of the eighteenth century. The researches of Thomas Carte amongst the French archives had also helped to call the attention of English historians to the materials they contained. But Carte's death prevented him from carrying his history beyond the death of James I: he could only utilise part of the transcripts he had collected. Sir John Dalrymple, in his 'Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,' published in 1771–3, printed from the archives of the French Foreign Office many of the letters of Barillon and other French ambassadors which threw fresh light on the reigns of Charles II and James II. Macpherson's 'Original Papers,' published in 1776, contained additional evidence from the French archives, though most of the documents he printed came from Carte's collections in the Bodleian.

While the French archives were thus being opened to English investigators the English archives remained closed. Macpherson, in his preface, dwelt on the contrast. He said:

[1] Dalrymple published his *Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Great Britain during the Reign of James I* in 1762 and the volume dealing with the reign of Charles I in 1766. The work of Wodrow appeared in 1721–2, Baillie's *Letters* in 1775, the papers of Carstares in 1774.

'The liberality of the French nation with regard to free access to their State papers, a favour seldom, if ever, refused to men of letters, makes ample amends for the more uncommunicative disposition prevailing in this kingdom.' In England the documents which had been gradually brought together in the State Paper Office during the last two centuries were regarded as the library of the Secretaries of State. Without the leave of the King or the Secretaries of State no historian could consult them, and such leave was very sparingly given.[1] Evelyn, in Charles II's time, had been allowed to use some of them, but then he was writing a narrative of the Dutch War for the vindication of the King's government. During the same reign Burnet, when he was collecting materials for his 'History of the Reformation,' and later still Jeremy Collier and Strype, when they were writing their ecclesiastical histories, had obtained admission. But to historians who sought to narrate the political struggles of the seventeenth century the State Paper Office was rigidly closed. There were two exceptions only. In 1768 David Hume was allowed by George III to make searches there. 'The King himself,' wrote Hume, 'has been pleased to order that all the records and public offices shall be open to me, and has even sent for some papers from Hanover which he thought would be useful.' But this took place after Hume had published his history of the Stuart period, and when he was supposed to be engaged on that history of the period following the Revolution which was never written. The other exception was Sir John Dalrymple. He was permitted to see the collection of papers contained in what was known as King William's Chest, and to publish in his 'Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland' a number of letters written by that King and his ministers.

The practical prohibition of researches amongst the State papers retarded for a long time the study of seventeenth-

[1] See the Calendar of State Paper Office Documents in the 30th Report of the Deputy Keeper.

century history. But while the English government hindered the progress of historical knowledge in this way, it promoted it in two other ways. The foundation of the British Museum is a landmark in the development of historical studies. During the seventeenth century there had been no great collection of historical MSS. open to investigators, except the Cottonian Library, and no great collection of the printed materials for the history of the time except the Bodleian. In 1753 the British Museum was founded by uniting the Cottonian, the Harleian, and the Sloane collections, which had come, partly by bequest and partly by purchase, into the possession of the State. Three hundred thousand pounds were raised by a lottery to pay for these collections and to buy Montague House to contain them. In 1759 the Museum was opened, and in 1762 George III presented to it the great collection of Civil War pamphlets and newspapers known as the 'Thomason Tracts.' Yet it was a long time before the materials for the seventeenth-century history thus brought together were made available for consultation by catalogues, and they were little utilised during the eighteenth century.

The second way in which the government promoted historical studies was by the printing of some of the manuscript sources. This began with the publication of Rymer's 'Foedera,' issued between 1704 and 1735.[1] The last five of the twenty volumes of that work contained documents illustrating the reigns of James I and Charles I, such as proclamations, commissions, instructions to ambassadors, treaties, and other evidence of the same kind. Next, the two Houses of Parliament began, about 1742, to print the records of their proceedings. By 1800 the Journals of the Lords and Commons for the whole of the seventeenth century were accessible in print, and thus the indispensable foundation for the study of parliamentary history was laid.

On the other hand, the two Houses, while they printed

[1] For a life of Rymer and a history of his enterprise, see the preface to volume i. of Sir T. D. Hardy's *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera.*

their votes and resolutions, made no attempt to print their debates. It was left to private enterprise to put together an account of them. Between 1751 and 1762 appeared the 'Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England'—generally known as 'The Old Parliamentary History.' Its chief compiler was Dr. Birch, and while it nominally began with the Middle Ages, twenty out of its twenty-four volumes were devoted to the debates of the period between 1603 and 1660. It was supplemented in 1763 by the publication of 'Grey's Debates'—ten volumes of reports of speeches made in the House of Commons between 1667 and 1695.

One more compilation requires notice. Between 1747 and 1773 appeared the seven folio volumes of 'Biographia Britannica,' of which a second edition in five volumes was issued between 1777 and 1793. Unluckily, this second edition ended with the letter F and was never completed. It was, however, a genuine attempt to bring together lives of all persons who played an important part in the national history, and for that reason it was an invaluable assistant for students of seventeenth-century history.

Thus, by the close of the eighteenth century, the documentary authorities available for the study of the seventeenth century had been enormously increased, and their character had completely altered. At the same time the indispensable aids of the historian—namely, collections of printed books and works of reference—had been provided or were in process of provision.

It remains to be seen to what extent the historians who wrote during the eighteenth century were able to combine this new evidence and produce a satisfactory narrative of the events of the previous century.

One of the first to make the attempt was White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, who published in 1706 (as the third volume of a complete history of England by various hands) an account of the period from 1625 to 1702. Kennett was a laborious and careful worker

—his MS. collections in the British Museum and his 'Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil'[1] prove that. But he was very Whiggish in his views, and in 1740 was bitterly attacked by Roger North in his 'Examen' as both biased and inaccurate.

Next came Laurence Echard's 'History,' published in 1707–18, which devoted two large volumes to the Stuart period. It was meant as an antidote to Kennett, but, though more detailed than his work, was much less valuable. Oldmixon calls it 'a poor copy of the History of the Rebellion.' Echard's authority was discredited by his insertion of the story about Cromwell's compact with the devil before the battle of Worcester.

More remarkable than either was the work of a foreigner —Rapin de Thoyras—who published between 1723 and 1727 a history of England in ten volumes, which began with Cæsar and ended with the Revolution of 1688. Its great merits were its freedom from party prejudices and its more critical use of authorities. Voltaire praised it as the only good complete history of England, and the only impartial history in existence of a country where every writer was inspired by party spirit. Six French editions and seven English proved its merits. Next came Oldmixon, whose 'History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, wherein the errors of late historians are discovered and corrected,' appeared in 1730. His aim was to refute Echard and Clarendon, and he undertook to show that the 'History of the Rebellion' had been garbled by its Tory editors, and was in itself of very little value. James Ralph, who published in 1744 a volume on the reigns of Charles II and James II, and in 1746 a volume on William III, was as strong a Whig as Oldmixon, but less violent and more able. Hallam, writing about eighty years later, styled him 'the most diligent historian we possess for the reign of Charles II,'

[1] The *Register* is a compilation dealing with the years 1660–1662 and recording events day by day. It was published in 1728.

and the book is still worth consulting. It is not only careful in its details, but shows an advance in the use of authorities. Oldmixon's method was simply to set one memoir against another and take the statement which suited his prejudices. Ralph used by preference State papers and similar documents, and he employed the pamphlets of the period to explain the views of the different parties. William Guthrie, the next historian to treat the period, was another industrious compiler, but treated the Stuart period much more briefly—'History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to 1688,' two volumes, 1744–51. His merit consisted largely in the fact that he was the first to employ as authorities the Journals of the two Houses of Parliament.

Next came Thomas Carte, whose general 'History of England,' in four massive folio volumes, appeared between 1747 and 1754. The last volume covered the years from 1613 to 1654. 'The General Account of the necessary Materials for a History of England' which Carte issued in 1738, in order to obtain subscribers to his work, is a document of the highest interest, for it contains not only a criticism of the defects of his predecessors but an indication of the sources from which new information could be gathered, and a scheme for obtaining it.[1] He did not succeed in carrying out his scheme: his open Jacobitism prevented him from obtaining the support of the government and lost him many subscribers. He died in 1753, leaving his History unfinished, but for the period it covered his book was far more valuable than any which had yet been published. Its special merit lay in the utilisation of foreign sources, in the treatment of the relations between Great Britain and the Continent, and his accurate and detailed narrative of events. The dulness of Carte's style limited his audience to scholars and students, but he retained his authority with them for at least a century. 'You may

[1] For a reprint of his *General Account*, see C. P. Cooper's *Account of the most important Public Records*, 1832, ii. 458.

read Hume for his eloquence,' said Thomas Warton, 'but Carte is the historian for facts.'

Hume was fortunate in the moment when he wrote, and in the temper of the audience to which he appealed. He published his 'History of the Reigns of James I and Charles I' in 1754, and that of the reigns of Charles II and James II in 1756. Then he turned back to write instalments of the earlier history of England; a method which made Fox declare that 'Hume wrote history backwards, as witches say their prayers.'

I said that Hume was fortunate in the moment when he wrote. The series of laborious compilers who had written during the first half of the eighteenth century had made the main course of English history clear, and a sufficient number of original authorities had been published to enable a skilful writer to give movement and colour to his story, and to correct the statements of his predecessors. Hume was thus able practically to confine himself to printed sources. Manuscripts he hardly ever consulted; he used them when he was revising his history of the Stuart period and adding fresh notes, not when he was actually composing it. As the matter he needed for his story was ready to hand, he could devote himself to perfecting the form of his narrative.

He was fortunate in the audience for which he wrote. The old quarrel between the supporters of the Stuart house and its adversaries was extinct; the watchwords of the two parties no longer inflamed anybody's passions—except those of antiquarians. Intelligent men had come to the conclusion that there was much to be said on both sides, and that it was not necessary to lose your temper in saying it. The time had come to treat the questions at issue in a detached and critical spirit, and that Hume did. He wrote, too, with an air of certainty and authority: like a superior intelligence reviewing the follies and errors of pygmies. 'It is no wonder,' he declared, 'that these events have long, by the representations of faction, been clouded and obscure. No man has yet arisen who has paid an entire

regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public.' This he claimed to have done for the reigns of the Stuart Kings, and for about fifty years the claim was generally accepted, while for the best part of a century his book as a whole remained the standard History of England. No school, no family was without it. Crabbe, in his 'Tales of the Hall,' published in 1819, describes a husband who is endeavouring to educate his wife.

> 'Augusta, love,' said Finch, 'while you engage
> In that embroidery, let me read a page;
> Suppose it Hume's; indeed he takes a side,
> But still an author need not be our guide;
> And as he writes with elegance and ease
> Do now attend—he will be sure to please.
> Here at the Revolution we commence—
> We date, you know, our liberties from hence.' [1]

Augusta answers that she remembers all about the Revolution very well, and how the good old bishops were burnt at the stake, but what she really likes is the stories about Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex. Finch gives up her historical education in despair.

With Hume the Tory view of the seventeenth century triumphed: it held the field till the first quarter of the nineteenth century; but it was Toryism, not Jacobitism, which triumphed, not belief in divine right, but belief in monarchy and distrust of fanatics and reformers.

The political reaction which followed the great war with France slowly brought the Whigs into power again and was acccompanied by a literary reaction too. Whig views of the history of the seventeenth century were popularised by a series of historians, and became generally accepted by the public.

George Brodie's 'History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles I to the Restoration,' in four volumes—published in 1822 and republished in 1861—marked the beginning of the process. His book was a long

[1] *Poetical Works*, edited by his son, vi. 213.

polemic against Hume. Next came Hallam's 'Constitutional History of England,' published in 1827, a still more powerful presentation of the case against the Stuart Kings and their partisans. A more democratic view was represented in the works of Godwin and Forster. Godwin's 'History of the Commonwealth of England,' four volumes, 1824–8, was a vindication of the republicans—'the virtuous and magnanimous men' who endeavoured to establish a republic in England. It has considerable merit, and he was the first to make adequate use of the 'Thomason Tracts' in the British Museum, and the order-books of the Council of State in the State Paper Office. Forster's biographies of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth, published between 1836–9 in Lardner's 'Cabinet Encyclopædia,' made heroes of Eliot, Pym, Hampden, Vane, and Marten, and denounced Strafford and Cromwell as apostates who had betrayed the cause of liberty.

Isaac D'Israeli's 'Commentaries on the Life and Reign of King Charles,' five volumes, 1828–31, was a feeble, verbose, and inaccurate defence of the traditional Tory view. In 1845 appeared Carlyle's 'Cromwell'—a work independent of parties—a reaction against Whig, Tory, and Republican historians—presenting, in Carlyle's phrase, 'a huge ragged image of a hero' with his time roughly sketched in as a background to the figure. There was nothing scientific either in the spirit or the method of his treatment, and yet its elimination of party prejudices and political formulas made it a step towards scientific history.

Post-Restoration history was re-written as well as pre-Restoration history. Fox's fragment on the reign of James II, published in 1808, was the first attempt; Mackintosh's fragment, published in 1835, three years after his death, was the second. Fox's fragment ended with the execution of Monmouth in 1685, Mackintosh's[1] extended

[1] It consisted of eleven chapters, carrying the narrative of the reign down to June 1688, and filling 359 out of the 628 pages which the history contains.

to the acquittal of the seven bishops in 1688. It furnished Macaulay with a solid foundation for the first instalment of his history, especially as he had at his service the great collection of transcripts of English and foreign documents which Mackintosh had collected for his unfinished book. Macaulay's history—of which the first part was published in 1848, the second in 1855, and the concluding volume in 1861—marks the triumph of Whig views as Hume's did that of Tory views. Macaulay's essays on Hallam, on Mackintosh, on Nugent's 'Hampden' and Courtenay's 'Temple' had shown that he regarded the seventeenth century from the point of view of a nineteenth-century politician, and his treatment of the Revolution of 1688 and the reign of William III confirmed this conclusion. On the other hand, he possessed a mastery of the English sources which no previous historian had equalled, and the brilliancy and skill of his presentation compensated, in the eyes of many, for his obvious bias, and for his comparative neglect of the connexion between English and Continental affairs.

Meanwhile the materials at the disposal of historians of the seventeenth century were steadily increasing. New memoirs and new diaries were discovered. Mrs. Hutchinson's 'Life' of her husband came out in 1806, Evelyn's 'Diary' in 1818, that of Pepys in 1825, and many others of less importance followed or accompanied them.[1] There appeared also during the first half of the nineteenth century a considerable number of small collections of seventeenth-century documents, sometimes published independently, sometimes annexed to biographies or imbedded in them. To the first class belong books such as Coxe's 'Shrewsbury Correspondence' (1821), the 'Ellis Correspondence' (1828), the 'Letters of James Vernon' (1841), Robert Vaughan's selection from the 'Pell Correspondence' (1838); Cary's

[1] *Memoirs of Sir H. Slingsby and Captain John Hodgson*, 1806; *Life of James II*, 1816; Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, 1829; Edmund Calamy's *Life*, 1829; Thoresby's *Diary*, 1830; Henry Sidney's *Diary*, 1843; *Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, 1845.

'Memorials of the Civil War,' which are a selection from the 'Tanner MSS.' (1842); the four volumes of news-letters known as the 'Court and Times of James I and Charles I' (1848), and the four volumes of the 'Fairfax Correspondence' (1848–9). To the second class belong Granville Penn's 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn' (1833), Lister's 'Life of Clarendon' (1838), and Warburton's 'Prince Rupert' (1849).

These collections were smaller and less valuable than those which had appeared in the eighteenth century. It was no longer possible for a bookseller to publish by subscription a great collection of documents such as the 'Thurloe State Papers.' To some extent this was compensated for by the formation and growth of small societies, which published by subscription documents relating to a particular subject or a particular district. The Bannatyne Club was founded in 1823, the Surtees Society in 1834, the Spalding Club in 1839, the Chetham Society in 1843. The Camden Society—the most important of them all for students of the seventeenth century, since it has published about seventy-five volumes of documents relating to that period—was founded in 1838. We owe to the activity of these and other societies between two and three hundred volumes of seventeenth-century documents. However, the most important factor in the development of historical studies during the nineteenth century was the increasing assistance afforded by the State, first by making collections of manuscripts accessible to historians, secondly by defraying the cost of catalogues and calendars.

Take first the British Museum. The documents contained in it were theoretically available for historians in the eighteenth century, but practically historians were not able to use them till the publication of the catalogues of the Cottonian (1802), the Harleian (1808–12), and the Lansdowne (1819) manuscripts had made them really accessible, and the regular publication of the catalogues of additional manuscripts did not really begin till about 1845.

Similarly the documents in the State Paper Office became more freely accessible. After the building of the new office in 1833, it was easy to obtain permission to consult them, and by that time they had been tolerably arranged for use; in 1862 they were transferred to the Public Record Office, and the regulations for using them became progressively more liberal, though it was not till the time of the present Deputy Keeper that the lists were published.

So, too, the records in general became really accessible after the passing of the Public Record Act in 1838 had placed them under one authority, and after the building of the Public Record Office collected them in one place about the year 1856.[1]

The year 1856 was also marked by the commencement of the Calendars of State Papers. Since then seventy-five volumes of the 'Calendar of the Domestic State Papers' of the seventeenth century, twenty volumes of Colonial papers of the same period, eight volumes of Treasury records, fifteen volumes of Irish State Papers, and about twenty-one volumes of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland have been printed. In all, there are now in print about one hundred and forty volumes of Calendars of British State Papers relating to the seventeenth century.

One of the great difficulties of eighteenth-century historians had been to procure access to collections of State papers which were in private hands. Hume complained of it when he thought of continuing his 'History' after the Revolution. 'My only discouragement is that I cannot hope to finish this work in my closet, but must apply to the great for papers and intelligence, a thing I mortally abhor.'[2] This difficulty, though it was not entirely removed, was reduced to a minimum by the establishment of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1869. In our

[1] The revolution effected by these changes in the study of English history is admirably described in a paper of J. S. Brewer's entitled 'New Sources of English History.' This appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1871, and is reprinted in his *English Studies*, 1881.

[2] Burton's *Hume*, ii. 146.

'Transactions' for 1910 there is an admirable history of this Commission, with an account of its method of working, by Mr. R. A. Roberts. In the volume for 1902 there is another paper by Mrs. Lomas which enumerates those of the Reports of the Commission which contain materials for the history of the first part of the seventeenth century. But there is no part of the seventeenth century and no side of it on which these Reports have not shed new light.

About the same time foreign archives and their contents became more accessible to English scholars, and documents drawn from Paris, from Venice, and from Simancas were more and more used to elucidate English history. Carte and Dalrymple had been obliged to procure the transcripts of the despatches of French ambassadors which they required at their own cost. Mackintosh had collected at his own expense the series of Dutch, Spanish, and Italian transcripts he obtained for his intended history of the Revolution of 1688. But in the second half of the nineteenth century the English government defrayed the cost of copying a great collection of the despatches of foreign ambassadors in England, part of which is in the Record Office and part in the British Museum. For the seventeenth century this series of transcripts is not yet complete: there are gaps which should be filled up by obtaining additional copies, and no doubt will be. These materials have been somewhat neglected by English historians, partly because they have not been adequately catalogued. Nearly all those which relate to the sixteenth century have been calendared, but the nine volumes of Venetian papers relating to the reign of James I are the only seventeenth-century papers of this class which have been so dealt with. On the other hand, the works of a number of foreign writers on English history have been largely based on materials of this kind, and they have included in their books extracts or selections from despatches. It is only necessary to mention the names of Guizot, Mignet, Legrelle, Ranke, and Klopp.

We owe to foreign historians not only fresh evidence for the study of the seventeenth century, but examples of historical method. Our eighteenth-century historians of the period were open and unblushing partisans, many of those who wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century were just as much partisans, and even the greatest of them were not free from political prejudices. Hallam obtained a reputation for impartiality—he wrote history, according to his epitaph, 'tanquam judex in tribunali sedens'; but while he had all the gravity and sobriety of a judge in his manner, he decided every case which came before him according to the constitutional code of the Whigs. Macaulay was obviously an advocate, and in his anxiety to obtain a verdict was much too careless about the evidence he employed. Ranke's 'History of England,' published between 1859 and 1868, was the first impartial history of the Stuart period, and it had two other great merits besides impartiality; one was the critical examination of the authorities used (shown, for instance, in the appendices on Clarendon, Burnet, and the 'Life of James II'); the other was the constant demonstration of the connexion between English and Continental events. In short, he cleared the eyes of English historians and widened their horizon; or, at least, that is what his example should have done.

While Ranke's 'History of England' was being published, John Forster was producing his 'Grand Remonstrance,' his 'Arrest of the Five Members' (1860), and his 'Life of Sir John Eliot' (1864); Masson had just commenced his 'Life of Milton' (1858-1880), and Spedding's 'Life of Bacon' was beginning to appear (1862–74). The first two volumes of Gardiner's 'History' were issued in 1863, and for nearly forty years successive instalments of it revealed bit by bit what really happened between 1603 and 1656, and why it happened. Gardiner examined and sifted the evidence just as Ranke had done, but he possessed a deeper and completer knowledge of the English sources than Ranke. Like Ranke, he never failed to bring out the connexion

between English and European affairs, and he was the first English historian to combine the history of our domestic struggles with the history of our foreign relations. Unlike Ranke, his impartiality had no touch of indifference in it; it was compounded of insight and sympathy.

'We have had historians in plenty,' he wrote, 'but they have been Whig historians or Tory historians. The one class has thought it unnecessary to take trouble to understand how matters looked in the eyes of the King and his friends: the other class has thought it unnecessary to take trouble to understand how matters looked in the eyes of the leaders of the House of Commons. I am not so vain as to suppose that I have always succeeded in doing justice to both parties, but I have at least done my best not to misrepresent either.'[1]

It was possible to succeed in the attempt to represent both parties fairly because the hour had come as well as the man. For two centuries materials for the history of the seventeenth century had been accumulating in print, and Gardiner began to write just at the moment when the materials still in manuscript were everywhere becoming accessible. It was during his lifetime that the archives of Venice and Simancas were freely opened to scholars; it was just when he was beginning his historical studies that the Record Office was built, that the State papers were transferred to the charge of the Master of the Rolls, that the present Reading-Room of the British Museum was opened. Without these facilities for research it would have been impossible for him to write true history for lack of good evidence. The difficulty which meets historians now arises rather from the superabundance of the evidence than its deficiency. But when men first attempted to write the history of the seventeenth century, the obstacle which was always in their way was the want of the materials required for writing it. The fact was not as plain to them, perhaps, as it is to us. There was an idea in Queen Anne's

[1] For a fuller estimate of Gardiner's work see my article in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1902, pp. 547–566.

time that the real difficulty of writing English history was the condition of the English language. Style, vocabulary, and syntax, they complained, were continually changing, and the first thing which must be done was to fix the language.

'How,' said Swift, 'shall any man who has a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients be able to undertake such a work with spirit and cheerfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a few years, and in an age or two shall hardly be understood without an interpreter?'

Waller had said the same thing of English poetry:

> Who can hope his lines should long
> Last in a daily changing tongue . . .
> We write in sand, our language grows,
> And like the tide our work o'erflows.

But what really antiquated the historians of the eighteenth century was not the growth of the language, but the growth of the evidence. The appearance of books like Clarendon's 'History' or the 'Thurloe State Papers' rendered all previous histories of the Civil War or the Protectorate obsolete. Successive waves of fresh evidence submerged and swept away the sand castles the historians had laboriously raised.

This is the reverse side of the progress of historical studies, and it is good for the historian sometimes to contemplate it. On the other hand there are limits to this process: provided that the old evidence on which the historian based his story is good evidence in itself, and well sifted, the new evidence often confirms rather than invalidates his conclusions. This has happened in the case of much of Gardiner's earlier work, though it was written fifty years ago. And even those earlier historians who based their works on inadequate materials—men like Kennett, and Carte, and others whose names are forgotten—have this claim to the respect of their successors, that they helped to dissipate the darkness and to increase the light. They

contributed their share to the progress of the study and to the production of better histories. They might have said, as Keats makes the old gods say of the new ones :

> On our heels a fresh perfection treads,
> A power more strong in beauty, born of us
> And fated to excel us, as we pass
> In glory that old darkness ; nor are we
> Thereby more conquered than by us the rule
> Of shapeless Chaos.

ENGLAND AND THE POLISH-SAXON PROBLEM AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

By C. K. WEBSTER, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read March 13, 1913

It is nearly one hundred years since the Congress of Vienna met, yet there has not been produced a standard work to which we can turn with confidence for a complete and detailed exposition of transactions which rearranged the whole map of Europe. Often as its errors have been exposed and its principles criticised, the exact methods by which it sought to achieve its purposes are to a certain extent still unknown. The mass of evidence has slowly but surely accumulated, but since Sorel attempted to do once more what Thiers had already done, to write the history of the Congress from the French point of view, no historian has given us any considerable description of its work. By Treitschke and Oncken we have valuable but by no means complete accounts, and meanwhile much work has been done on parts of the Congress which makes it probable that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of its whole scope to be attempted, and perhaps some commonly accepted judgments to be revised. The fascinating articles, which Professor Fournier has given us, as preliminaries to his great work on the Congress, show how much new evidence is at the disposal of the historian.

That the task is no light one will not be denied. At Vienna almost every statesman of importance in Europe found it necessary to be present, and almost all have left a record of some of their work in the form of letters, memoirs, or official despatches. The sources are thus very large, but

it is also true that the most important business was in the hands of a small group of men, and was transacted as much by conversation and interview as by written document. Thus, though the mass of material is enormous, the really significant part of it can be reduced within a reasonable compass; and if rumour and gossip be put in their proper place, it is often the paucity rather than the excess of the evidence which troubles the historian. This difficulty is largely due to the fact that only two of the inner ring of statesmen had any necessity to write down a formal or detailed account of their work. For Metternich, Hardenberg, and the Russian statesmen, a verbal communication with their sovereign was the most obvious and convenient method of transacting business. Talleyrand and Castlereagh were, however, not accompanied by the rulers of their respective countries, and they were representatives of constitutional governments. They were thus constantly forced to describe events, to seek instruction and to justify action. Talleyrand's brilliant letters to his sovereign have been long one of the main sources of historian. But they are in two respects most misleading documents, as criticism has more than once demonstrated. Talleyrand's vanity made him exaggerate enormously the part he played in events, nor was he admitted to the inner councils of the Congress until the crisis of the struggle had arrived.

Talleyrand had a royal master to flatter and cajole, a reputation to vindicate and a policy of doubtful merit to defend. His despatches are written to meet his circumstances and to serve his ends. Castlereagh was in a very different position. The Prince Regent was indeed a capable critic of foreign policy with views and ideas of his own, but his position was not that of a French King, and Castlereagh was the only member of the British Cabinet who had a real interest in, and a real understanding of, the affairs of Europe. His task was thus simpler and called for a less ingenious interpretation of events. Much of his

information was sent in private letters to Liverpool, which have long been known. Still he had to convey to his Cabinet some idea of the course of events; and as the problems grew more and more difficult and war-clouds gathered on the horizon, he had to defend with vigour and insist with some asperity on a policy that commended itself but little to colleagues engaged in defending themselves, without his all-powerful aid, against an opposition to which the close of the Napoleonic war had again given life and vigour. Of instructions from home he seems to have received only one of any importance, and that he flatly disobeyed. But the opinions of the Cabinet were conveyed through the medium of Liverpool's private letters, and were not altogether without their influence. His own official despatches are seventy-six in number, and with their enclosures fill six large volumes of the Foreign Office records. They were used by Fyffe and Mr. Dorman, but neither of these has given more than a short summary of events. Their real importance was first shown long ago by Oncken, and his account of the Congress does more justice to the work of Castlereagh than that of any other historian.[1] On many essential points we lack authoritative evidence. In particular, Castlereagh's official instructions at the opening of the Congress are missing. It is however, I think, possible to reconstruct them from other papers.

In any case, to understand the Congress of Vienna we must understand the policy of Castlereagh. For, from the first, it was he that furnished it with a plan of action, and, despite a temporary eclipse, it was he that supplied it with a solution of its most difficult problem. Alone of the statesmen of the Four Powers, he had a theory to maintain which was really based on a desire to promote the best interests of Europe. By his diplomatic skill in the earlier part of the year the cardinal points of British policy were

[1] In *Das Zeitalter der Revolutionzeit*, etc., vol. ii.

secured before the Congress met. Castlereagh could afford to be impartial, and some impartial arbitrator, with skill and energy enough to devise a means of escape from the difficulties which the Powers had to face, was an absolute necessity, if an appeal to force was to be avoided.

Castlereagh described his principles of action in a despatch to his Cabinet as follows :—

'Since I have been on the Continent I have conceived it my duty to keep in view the following principles. . . . In the first place so to conduct the arrangements to be framed for Congress (*sic*), as to make the establishment of a just equilibrium in Europe the first object of my attention, and to consider the assertion of minor points of interest as subordinate to this great end—Secondly, to use my best endeavours to support the Powers who had contributed to save Europe by their exertions, in their first pretensions to be liberally re-established upon the scale to which their treaties entitled them to lay claim, and not to be deterred from doing so by the necessity of adopting, for this end, measures which, although not unjust, are nevertheless painful and unpopular in themselves. And thirdly to endeavour to combine this latter duty to our friends and allies, with as much mildness and indulgence even to the offending States, as circumstances will permit.' [1]

This policy of creating a 'just equilibrium' Castlereagh had announced as his main object when he first entered the councils of the alliance in 1814.[2] The Congress of Vienna, however it may be criticised from the standpoint of liberal or national policy, may claim to have succeeded in establishing territorial equilibrium. That it was able to do so by amicable methods was due mainly to the exertion of its most disinterested member.

In the fight against France, English statesmen had almost forgotten the outlines of the policy of the balance of power. But no sooner had the Russian troops entered Germany than diplomatists had to face a situation which had been foreseen by more astute politicians like Metternich

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, November 11, 1814. *F.O. Continent*, 8.
[2] Fournier, *Congress von Chatillon*, p. 372.

for some time. If Napoleon were beaten, a new Europe must be re-created, and the fortunes of each Power stood in the hazard. The agreements of 1813 were sufficient to unite the allies and drive the French out of Germany. But the problems were only shelved, and the nearer the allies drew to Paris the more their gaze was diverted from the Seine to the Elbe and the Vistula. When Castlereagh joined the allied headquarters in January 1814 he found his allies as jealous and distrustful of one another as of the enemy. Fear of Russia had almost displaced fear of Napoleon in the minds of Austrian statesmen, and though the Prussian king was under the influence of the Czar, Hardenberg and his colleague were by no means blind to the difficulties of the position. Chief of all the dangers were the twin problems of Poland and Saxony, which it was the object of the Czar to unite. Castlereagh was not long in showing on which side his sympathies lay. He had inherited from Pitt that jealousy of Russia, which had for the moment been swallowed up by the fear of France. His first task was indeed to smooth difficulties and to weld the allies into a coalition which should prove as impregnable to Napoleon's diplomacy as their joint armies must be to his handful of troops. Once this was accomplished at Chaumont, he joined in Metternich's endeavours to remove Russian influence from the Prussian councils. This necessitated giving the whole of Saxony to Prussia, but Austria's consent was won to that policy and the result was an informal understanding between Metternich, Hardenberg, and Castlereagh by which Prussia was to obtain Saxony and unite with the other two courts against the Czar.[1] It was originally intended to settle the matter at once, and Hardenberg did indeed produce a complete scheme for the reconstruction of Europe.[2]

[1] Fournier, *Congress von Chatillon*, p. 317; *Historische Studien und Skizzen*, 2e Reihe, pp. 297, 298.

[2] Muenster, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 159; *Mémoire* of Hardenberg, April 29. *F.O. Continent*, 4; *cf.* Oncken, *Das Zeitalter der Revolutionzeit* etc. ii. 842.

But the Czar was obdurate, and Austria and Prussia, though agreed about Saxony, quarrelled over Mayence.[1]

The treaty of Paris therefore only settled subjects on which a general agreement could be at once obtained. Of the London conferences of the allies we have scarcely any information. Formal conferences were held which settled the date of the approaching Congress and some points concerning Belgium, but the Polish question does not seem to have been officially discussed.[2] All we know is that Alexander by insulting the Prince Regent and coquetting with the Whigs, whom he seems to have thought would soon be in power, turned official English policy still more against him, while Metternich by studious attention to the Prince and his foreign minister did much to make possible that working arrangement between the Tory ministry and the Vienna court which lasted till 1822 and even longer.[3] Of Castlereagh's own views at the end of the summer we have a record in a letter to Hardenberg, in which he enforced the necessity of united action against Russia, and the Prussian reply assumed that Prussia would receive both Saxony and Mayence.[4]

This was the policy that he was to pursue during the first phase of the Congress. If it was successful he secured three objects at one stroke. Russia would be driven back from Poland and Europe thus saved from a considerable danger; Prussia would be made a powerful and compact state, able to guard both the Eastern and Western frontiers of Europe; and Austria and Prussia would be joined together in friendly alliance, and a united Germany offer an impenetrable barrier to both French and Russian aggression.

[1] Muenster, *op. cit.* pp. 169, 170.

[2] Memorandum of Gentz, August 18, 1814. Klinkowström, *Oesterreichs Theilnahme in der Befreiungskriege*, p. 393.

[3] See the extract from Princess Lieven's Diary in 'Correspondance de l'Empereur Alexandre I avec sa sœur Catherine,' ed. the Grand-Duke Nicholas Michaïlowitch.

[4] Castlereagh to Hardenberg, August 8, 1814; Hardenberg to Castlereagh, August 27, 1814. *F.O. Congress*, 20.

The negotiations of the spring and summer seemed to have assured the success of this plan. For to the allies belonged the decision, and, if three of the four members of the alliance were agreed, their united opinion must defeat that of the fourth.

France was, however, by no means a negligible quantity. Excluded by the treaty of Paris from full participation in the work of the Congress, and impotent if the allies remained united, her influence or her armies would perhaps turn the scale, if an open rupture took place. Castlereagh had realised from the first that France had a right to be consulted in the reconstruction of Europe. In January he had asserted, in opposition to the strongly expressed wish of Russia, that even a France under the rule of Napoleon could not be altogether excluded from taking part in the general settlement.[1] That sentiment grew when the Bourbons came into power, and it was doubtless knowledge of this state of affairs that was one factor in determining Talleyrand to choose his line of action. Metternich appears to have treated Talleyrand with scant ceremony as he passed through Paris on his return to Vienna from London, and it was to England that France turned for support.[2] Castlereagh did his best to win Talleyrand's goodwill. He wrote a civil explanation of the convention of June 29, which France might have regarded as a menace.[3] Talleyrand met him more than half-way, and opened direct negotiations with regard to the coming meeting. He hoped to use English goodwill as a means to obtain a position in the inner councils of the Congress. To this overture Castlereagh replied politely, but refused to commit himself.[4] He had no intention of admitting France to a position of full equality with the allies, but he wished to have some hold on her policy. He consented

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, Basle, January 22, 1814. *F.O. Congress*, 2.
[2] Sir Charles Stuart to Castlereagh, July 4, 1814. *F.O. France*, 97.
[3] Castlereagh to Stuart, July 16, 1814. *F.O. France*, 96.
[4] Stuart to Castlereagh, July 28, 1814. *F.O. France*, 96; later letters in *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, ix. pp. 180–186.

therefore to visit Paris on his way to Vienna, and, in long interviews with Louis XVIII. and his minister, impressed on them the British point of view, and sought French co-operation with regard to Poland, which was freely promised. But at the same time he made it quite clear that he was not prepared to concede to France a full position of equality.[1]

The first problem of the Congress was that of its own organisation. The four Powers were determined to maintain their exclusive control over the division of the spoils which they had claimed in the treaties of Chaumont and Paris. Talleyrand challenged their decision, but, though he won a formal victory on the question of public business, he was really completely beaten on the essential point, and for the next three months France was altogether excluded from the real work of the Congress, the attempt to solve the claims of the three Continental members of the coalition.[2]

On the Polish question Castlereagh, from the first, adopted a policy of complete candour towards Alexander. In his first interview with the Czar he told him frankly that his plans were impossible.[3] To Nesselrode, who was sent next day to barter the political side of the Russian plans for the territorial, his refusal was still more uncompromising.[4] As the union between Austria and Prussia, which depended on the cession of Saxony to the latter, was still incomplete, Castlereagh had to face the Czar almost alone. A second interview led to a memorandum in which the case against Russia was argued with the utmost frankness, but the result was only a further declaration that Russia would keep her conquests.[5]

Meanwhile Castlereagh was endeavouring to complete

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, Geneva, September 3. *F.O. Continent*, 7. Appendix, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.* Vienna, September 24. *F.O. Continent*, 7.

[3] *Ibid.* October 2 (No. 3). *F.O. Continent*, 7. Appendix, p. 23.

[4] *Ibid.* October 2 (No. 4). *F.O. Continent*, 7. Appendix, p. 25.

[5] *Ibid.* October 14. *F.O. Continent* 7. Appendix, p. 27.

the arrangement by which Austria and Prussia were to unite against the Czar. After an unsatisfactory interview with the King of Prussia, he approached Hardenberg and Metternich directly. Both were distrustful, but both expressed their willingness to work together.[1]

Hardenberg brought the matter to a clear issue by his letter of October 9 which formally asked for assent to the incorporation of Saxony in Prussia, and the establishment of Mayence as a fortress of the Federation.[2] Castlereagh gave his consent immediately.[3] Metternich was loath to commit himself and at first only gave a verbal promise, but a peremptory note of Hardenberg's of October 21 produced an Austrian reply which gave provisional assent to the incorporation of Saxony, but asserted Bavaria's claims to Mayence.[4] This was by no means sufficient at first to satisfy Hardenberg, but Castlereagh, at a meeting at his house was able to bring his colleagues to an agreement, and the future course of action was at the request of the other two Powers mapped out in a Memorandum by him, and submitted to the Austrian and Prussian monarchs.[5] The consent of the Emperor of Austria could not be considered doubtful, and as the Prussian King had promised not to disturb the plan, the triple alliance which had been building all the year might be considered to be consummated. If this was so, Russia was isolated, provided she could not rely on France, and Castlereagh took steps to prevent any *rapprochement* between the Czar and Talleyrand.[6] When the sovereigns set out for Buda, he might hope that the most difficult part of his task was fulfilled.

But the fatal obstinacy of the Prussian King destroyed this position in a moment. Alexander proved that he had made no mistake in relying on his personal supremacy

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, October 9. *F.O. Continent*, 7. Appendix, p. 25.

[2] Angeberg, *Congrès de Vienne.* [3] *Ibid.* 274.

[4] Castlereagh to Liverpool, October 24. *F.O. Continent*, 7.

[5] Angeberg, 291. There wrongly dated. [6] See below, p. 14.

over the inferior intellect of Frederick William. Both Hardenberg and Metternich were bitterly attacked in the presence of their sovereigns, and though little impression was made on the Austrian Emperor, the King of Prussia yielded to the demands of the Czar.[1] Hardenberg was in a difficult position, but no choice was left to him short of resignation. When, therefore, on the return of the sovereign from Buda, Metternich submitted to him a note as a basis of joint action against Russia on the Polish question, he could only give an evasive answer and deprecate an opposition which might lead to hostilities. The negotiation was kept alive by his offer to lay the proposal before the Czar. Alexander's answer was delayed by illness, but when it came it left little doubt as to the situation.[2] The demands were peremptorily refused and at the same time the Prussian claims upon Saxony and Mayence were asserted. But Metternich, defeated on the question of Poland, could not, if he had wished, have maintained his offer of Saxony. His conditional promise was withdrawn, and a deadlock produced not only in the matter of Poland but upon the Saxon question.[3] As Castlereagh had foreseen, the two German Powers, if they could not unite upon Poland, were placed in a position which threatened the peace of Europe. For neither could afford to give way on two frontiers.

Thus the first phase of the Congress closed with heavy defeat for Castlereagh. It was he who had initiated the policy of opposition to Russia, had himself conducted an argument on the Polish question with the Emperor and his ministers, had forced Metternich and Hardenberg into an alliance, and had checked the insidious tactics of Talleyrand. In this he had gone far beyond what opinion in his Cabinet or his country either expected or desired. He had not meant to

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, November 11. *F.O. Continent*, 8. Appendix, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.* November 21. *F.O. Continent*, 8.

[3] *Ibid.* December 5. *F.O. Continent*, 8. Appendix, p. 33.

push matters to the verge of war, but had hoped to overcome Russia by a united effort in which, as representing the most disinterested party, it was right and fitting he should take a leading part. This he was all the more ready to do because, if he could drive back Russia from Poland, he could solve at the same time the German problems. All hope of this was now gone. Poland was irrecoverably lost unless the sword won it back, and Russia had not merely driven a wedge into Germany, but its two leading Powers were now hopelessly estranged from one another and in no sense prepared to guard the balance of power against attacks from either East or West. To meet this situation a new policy had to be reconstructed, and Castlereagh was forced to give up much, though not all, that he had tried to obtain. But, though losing much upon the question of Poland, he did eventually succeed in establishing a balance of power in the centre of Europe, which should guard the Eastern and Western frontiers. This reversal of policy necessitated a change of attitude towards Prussia, on the question of Saxony, which has often been attributed to orders from home and the intrigues of Talleyrand. That view is, however, a mistake. The new policy was produced by the necessities of the situation; and though, for the moment, Castlereagh seemed to have lost control of affairs, it was soon realised both by himself and by his allies that it was indispensable that he should resume his rôle of conciliator and arbiter.

In considering the relations between Castlereagh and his Cabinet two things must be kept in mind. In the first place, the Cabinet had little knowledge and appreciation of the affairs of Europe; and secondly, its members were so far away that Castlereagh, even had he been less strong and determined, would have been forced to act on his own responsibility. Liverpool's letters, which contained suggestions rather than orders, no doubt produced an effect; but, by the time they arrived, the situation had so changed that they were of little use, and the only definite instruction Castlereagh

received from home he had deliberately to ignore. When Talleyrand claims, therefore, that he controlled Castlereagh by influencing public opinion in London, he is maintaining one of the least true of his partial truths. Castlereagh's task was indeed rendered more difficult by the attitude of his Cabinet and the English people. But at critical moments he was always able to take his own line.

On the Polish question the Cabinet was exceedingly lukewarm. 'I am inclined to think the less we have to do with it, except as far as regards giving an opinion, the better,' wrote Liverpool early in October.[1] Castlereagh's energy and activity during the early part of the Congress filled the home government with still more anxiety, and almost all Liverpool's letters deprecated too much interference on the part of Great Britain in affairs that only indirectly concerned her.[2] The Cabinet was far too much occupied in coping with the difficult problems of finance and parliamentary management to devote much consideration to such trifles as the balance of power and the reconstruction of a new Europe. Success or failure upon the question of the Slave Trade, which might do much to increase or depress their prestige in the country, was of more moment to them than a United Germany or a good Rhine frontier. It was only Castlereagh who saw that English interests were so bound up with those of the Continental Powers that if war broke out we should be forced to join one side or another.

Public opinion in this country on the question of Saxony was, however, growing, and this began to find expression in Liverpool's letters. At last on November 18 he wrote guardedly to Castlereagh in favour of allowing the King to keep part of his country, but this was in no sense an

[1] Liverpool to Castlereagh, October 4. Yonge, *Life of Liverpool*, ii. 35.

[2] *E.g.* Liverpool to Castlereagh, October 28. *Wellington S.D.* p. 382, with a memorandum from Vansittart, beginning: 'I begin to apprehend that we are making ourselves too much principals in the disputes concerning Poland.'

instruction.[1] Yet there must have been considerable discussion in the Cabinet, and the peace party must have won a definite victory, for on November 27 a definite instruction was sent to Vienna. It was written in reply to Castlereagh's despatch of November 11 which recounted the failure of his policy, and while not censuring him contained this sentence: 'It is unnecessary for me to point out to you the impossibility of H.R.H. to involve this country in hostilities at this time for any of the objects which have hitherto been under discussion at Vienna.'[2] Three weeks after he had received this despatch, Castlereagh was to sign a treaty which made definite provision for war.

In the second phase of the diplomacy, Talleyrand becomes an important factor and it is necessary to review Castlereagh's relations with him since the beginning of the Congress. In the negotiations as to the exact form of the Congress Castlereagh had shown more sympathy to French susceptibilities than any of the other statesmen, but he had not separated himself from the decision of the allies to keep affairs in their own hands and allow the other Powers, France included, only rights of consultation and suggestion.[3] He had, however, carefully watched the policy of Talleyrand.

[1] It was believed at the Congress that Castlereagh had been ordered to give way on Saxony (*cf.* Muenster, *op. cit.* p. 201; Gagern, *Mein Antheil an der Politik*, iv. p. 81), and historians have naturally been puzzled (*e.g.* Delbruck, *Historische Zeitschrift*, xxvii. p. 249). It is clear, however, I think from Liverpool's letter and Castlereagh's despatches that the decision rested with him and was a natural development of his policy. Both Alexander (Martens, *Recueil*, xi. p. 211) and Talleyrand (Sorel, viii. p. 375) were trying to influence the Congress from London. The timid attitude of the home government was of course known at the Congress. Gentz wrote on December 9: 'Die englische Regierung, welche die Aufrechterhaltung des Friedens um jeden Preis wünscht.' (Klinkowström, *op. cit.* p. 470). But though all this weakened Castlereagh's position it did not determine his course of action.

[2] Bathurst to Castlereagh, November 27. *F.O. Continent*, 6. Appendix, p. 22.

[3] Castlereagh to Liverpool, September 24. *F.O. Continent*, 7.

He succeeded in preventing him from producing a Memorandum in which the principle of legitimacy was to unite the Polish and Saxon problems, and kept him from public declarations by vague hints that if the Polish question were first settled perhaps some concessions might be due for Saxony.[1] Alexander managed to insinuate to Castlereagh that Talleyrand in his previous conversation had offered to give up Poland in return for Saxony.[2] Castlereagh took immediate steps to counter this attitude by an appeal to Paris through Wellington, which produced a letter from Blacas instructing Talleyrand to act as much as possible in harmony with the British Minister.[3] The *Mémoire raisonné* upon Saxony had indeed been issued at a time by no means congenial to Castlereagh, but in November Talleyrand showed himself far more conciliatory, and the English Minister, without altogether trusting him, took care to treat him with all proper regard.[4] When the Austro-Prussian scheme had broken down the way was already prepared for a rapprochement between Great Britain, Austria, and France. No one thought that Talleyrand's principles were unbending; it was merely a question of how much could he get for his support; nor did he, when the moment of crisis arrived, drive a hard bargain.

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, October 20. *F.O. Continent*, 7. *Cf.* Cook to Liverpool, October 25. *Wellington S.D.*, ix. 375.

[2] *Ibid.*, October 24. Appendix, p. 28. It is possible that the incident narrated by Talleyrand (*Mémoires*, ii. 394) was the actual occasion of this insinuation. Alexander tried to play the same game with Hardenberg concerning Metternich (*cf.* Delbruck, *op. cit.* p. 256).

[3] *Ibid.*, October 25. *F.O. Continent*, 7. Wellington to Castlereagh, November 5. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 417; Talleyrand, *Mémoires*, ii. 435.

[4] Castlereagh to Wellington, November 21. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 447: 'I have not deemed it prudent to disclose to him my operations in detail, finding that he was not always discreet, and that I should lose influence in other quarters if I was understood to be in close confidence with the French Minister. I have endeavoured, however, to treat him with all proper regard and to keep him generally informed of our endeavours to promote common objects. He is become infinitely more accommodating in our general conferences than at the outset.'

During the later part of the month of November, after the failure of his first effort, Castlereagh withdrew somewhat from the leading position he had taken up at first and allowed Metternich and Hardenberg to carry on the negotiations. But as relations became more and more strained between the three Powers it became evident that no solution could be produced except by the active interference of Great Britain. Poland had now to be regarded as in a great measure lost, for only a complete alliance between the two German Powers could have saved it and that was now impossible.[1] But Castlereagh could at least diminish their rivalry, and by creating a strong Prussia without at the same time inflaming too much the jealousy of Austria, a balance of power could yet be established, and the centre of Europe made strong enough to resist aggression either from the East or the West. Thus, though the Prussian alliance with Russia forced Castlereagh to act with Austria against her, he always tried to make her as strong as circumstances would permit.

His first step, however, was to withdraw his offer of Saxony to Prussia. In an interview with Hardenberg he made it clear that it was impossible for Austria to agree to such a sacrifice on her Bohemian border, now that she was not assured of a frontier on the side of Poland. When the Prussian Chancellor flamed up and talked of war, Castlereagh showed him that there were other means of opposing his plans beside simple force; for how could Prussia expect to rule Saxony unless her possession was ratified by the European concert? This language produced some effect, and Hardenberg promised to consider an Austrian counter-project. Castlereagh immediately visited Metternich to urge him to make this as conciliatory as possible. It was possible, too, that Alexander, successful in his main hopes, would relax a little in his demands

[1] Castlereagh to Wellington, December [circa 12]. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 459: 'I consider the Polish question as settled. Prussia never contended it in earnest, and Austria consequently has yielded.' *Cf.* Muenster, p. 203.

upon Poland and some hope of peace was still left.[1] The Austrian note however categorically refused Saxony to Prussia[2] and so incensed Hardenberg [and the Prussian Cabinet] that he revealed the correspondence between Humboldt and Metternich concerning Poland. There ensued a stormy scene between the Czar and the Austrian Chancellor, which however by showing Alexander the real state of affairs, was not altogether regrettable.[3]

Still, the four Powers were now hopelessly divided. It was Talleyrand's opportunity. It was obvious that France must at least be admitted to the inner councils of the Congress and that her weight would prove perhaps decisive. Talleyrand's policy had made it necessary for him to join the Austrian side. His government too was prepared for an alliance with England. Thus Metternich, some time just before December 18 with the cognisance of Castlereagh approached Talleyrand officially with proposals for joint action.[4]

Meanwhile Castlereagh was asked by both Metternich and Hardenberg to mediate on the Saxon question and Czartoriski joined in the request.[5] Castlereagh consented, and on December 20 he had an interview of two hours with Hardenberg, Stein and Czartoriski in which a new move was made by the Prussian Government. They tried to persuade Castlereagh to consent to transfer the King of Saxony to the Rhine. This measure would never have won the consent of Austria but there were also other reasons why it should be refused by an English Minister. If the Rhine frontier were handed over to a weak State, which had besides a special connexion with France, there was no security for Germany on the West and no great

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, December 1. *F.O. Confrod.* 6. Appendix, p. 35.

[2] Angeberg, 505.

[3] Castlereagh to Liverpool, December 17. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 483.

[4] *Ibid.* December 18. *F.O. Confrod.* 6. Appendix, p. 36; Cook to Liverpool, December 18. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 495.

[5] *Ibid.* December 18. Appendix, p. 36.

power specially interested in the question of Holland. Castlereagh peremptorily refused the proposal. At the same time he warned quite clearly that he strongly disliked a powerful Prussia, and he informed the Russian diplomatists that no further opposition would be made by himself upon the Polish point, if the whole Prussian contention about Saxony were withdrawn.[1] Moreover, Castlereagh made a further attempt to obtain the assistance of a compromise by proposing the appointment of a technical commission, which should attempt to settle the disputed boundary areas of territories and numbers of population, which each Power interested in its own favour.[2]

The appointment of the technical commission was to reveal the new position of France. Talleyrand obtained instructions upon it and Castlereagh himself apparently not very willingly, insisted that a French Plenipotentiary should be placed upon it.[3] This new factor produced some effect upon Alexander who was now undoubtedly working for some compromise upon the Saxon point, and a confidentiary conversation took place between the Czar and the Emperor of Austria.[4] Talleyrand was indeed now pressing for an alliance, but Castlereagh held him back in the hope of an amicable settlement.[5]

On December 27 matters came to a head. Alexander, who appointed Russian Plenipotentiary in spite of compromise on the part of the Czar, were demanding a maintenance of the 'Four' upon the Saxon point, and the dynamics of the affair were thus brought to formal discussion. At the first

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, December 24. P.D. Unpublished, p. Appendix, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* December 24; Metternich to ut p. 216.

[3] Talleyrand, *Mémoires*, ii. 544.

[4] Castlereagh to Liverpool, December 25. P.D. Unpublished, p.

[5] *Ibid.* December 25. Wellington S.D. ix. 511: 'He [Talleyrand] was urgent in the language to me two days since to urge with an engagement between France, Austria and England. I told him that I thought we were already united in opinion, and that to form an alliance immediately might augment the chances of war rather than an amicable settlement . . .'

meeting Austria and England demanded the introduction of France, but this was hotly combated by their allies.[1] The Prussian plenipotentiaries even went so far as to threaten a declaration of war unless their rights to the whole of Saxony were recognised. It was their truculent and unmeasured language which produced the greatest effect upon Castlereagh.[2] Hitherto, however much they had quarrelled among themselves, none of the statesmen, not even Alexander, had dared to treat him in so summary a fashion. His letter shows how much he resented Prussia's attempt to bully him, and he went straight from the Conference to Talleyrand with a project for a secret treaty. The possibility of this step had of course been present during the last fortnight and Castlereagh had written home for further instructions. But it is to be noticed that it was Castlereagh who drew up the draft of the treaty and that it was agreed to almost in every detail by Talleyrand and Metternich.[3] The news of the American peace, which arrived so opportunely on the morning of the Conference, doubtless helped the English Minister to a decision. But that influence has probably been exaggerated, and it seems probable that he would not have acted otherwise, even if that news had been delayed. When it is remembered that his last instructions had expressly forbidden him to involve this country in war, the boldness of his action is more strongly realised, for war the treaty meant, if Prussia did not give way. It was, perhaps, as grave a responsibility as any Minister of this country has ever incurred on his own initiative and it demonstrates what historians are only just beginning to realise, that for unflinching courage and decision of character Castlereagh has rarely been equalled, much less excelled, among English Foreign Ministers.

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, January 1 (No. 43). *F.O. Continent*, 10. Appendix, p. 39.

[2] *Ibid.* January 1 (No. 44). *F.O. Continent*, 10. Appendix, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.* January 1 (No. 45). Appendix, p. 41.

However, the firm tone of Austria and Great Britain at the second and third conferences produced its effect. Hardenberg intimated privately to Castlereagh that he would yield. He secured from Castlereagh in return a promise that the Saxon question should be settled by the five Powers and that the King of Saxony's consent should not be considered necessary.[1] He further broached once more the object of transferring the King of Saxony to the Rhine, a plan which Castlereagh again pronounced to be impossible, and which even Talleyrand refused, sorely tempted though perhaps he was.[2] To avoid a repetition of this proposal, so obnoxious to him, Castlereagh sought a special interview with the Emperor of Russia and protested vehemently against the idea.[3] The audience served further to enlighten the Czar's mind upon the diplomatic situation, for he questioned Castlereagh as to the rumours of an alliance and received a reply which could have left him little doubt on the subject.[4] Henceforth the Russian plenipotentaries worked their hardest for a settlement.

All risk of an immediate outbreak was now over, but the situation was still one of the greatest danger and difficulty. The Prussian and Austrian Cabinets were completely estranged and the materials for a compromise were hard to find. Moreover, in the flush of triumph the war party in the Austrian councils wished to press their victory home and began to put forward extravagant pretensions, while Talleyrand was not unwilling to see the quarrel go forward. For Castlereagh, who sincerely desired the

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, January 3. *F.O. Continent*, 10.

[2] *Ibid.* January 5. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 527. *Cf.* Lehmann, *Hist. Zeitschrift*, N.S. 24, p. 466; and *cf.* Oncken, *Das Zeitalter* etc. ii. p. 873 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* January 8. *F.O. Continent*, 10. Appendix, p. 42.

[4] *Ibid.* January 8. *F.O. Continent*, 10. Appendix, p. 43. *Cf.* Dorman, *History of the British Empire*, ii. 180. It is interesting to compare this with Castlereagh to Wellington, March 27, 1815, *Wellington S.D.* ix. 626. Castlereagh seems to have forgotten how much he told Alexander by implication. *Cf.* Martens, Recueil, xi. 246.

reconstruction of a powerful Prussian State, this policy was in the highest degree displeasing, and, having checkmated Prussia's attempts to dictate to Europe, he was by no means disposed to risk a war on behalf of a mere question of frontier. Thus in the final stage of the Congress, in the final effort that he made to avert disaster and produce a settlement, he was engaged more in combating his own allies than in attacking the other side. He had to work now with feverish haste. His colleagues were pressing him hard to come to their aid, yet he dared not leave Vienna with the problem unsettled. For six weeks his energy and activity were incessant and at last triumphed over all his difficulties.[1]

His first care was to procure a formal statement from Talleyrand that he would not support Saxony if she refused the settlement of the Powers.[2] He then attacked the Austrian war party. Metternich had now apparently lost control of his Cabinet, and Schwarzenberg and Stadion were urgent that Torgau and Erfurt should be taken from Prussia. When Metternich attempted to urge these claims Castlereagh immediately sought a private interview with him and told him frankly that these places were indispensable to Prussia and that he could not think of going to war on a mere question of detail.[3] When Metternich professed himself unable to control his Cabinet, Castlereagh sought an interview with the Austrian Emperor. At last, after a long wrangle with Talleyrand and Metternich, he secured a project which he could support.[4] This gave Leipzig to Saxony, and, knowing Prussian prejudice upon

[1] *Cf.* Klinkowström, *op. cit.* p. 516: 'Er [Castlereagh] entfaltete dabei einen ausserordentlichen Eifer und eine Ausdauer ohne Gleichen; er arbeitete Tag und Nacht.'

[2] Talleyrand to Castlereagh, January 8. *F.O. Continent*, 10.

[3] Castlereagh to Liverpool, January 22. *F.O. Continent*, 10. Appendix, p. 44.

[4] *Ibid.* January 29. *F.O. Continent*, 11. Appendix, p. 46. *Cf.* Metternich to Schwartzenberg, January 27. Klinkowström, p. 823, which shows the effect produced in the Austrian Cabinet.

that point, he disclosed the proposal privately to Hardenberg and vainly endeavoured to win his approval. When the Prussian Chancellor was not yet to be persuaded, Castlereagh met the King of Prussia himself and in an interview, 'the most painful in all respects that it has been my lot to undergo since I have been upon the Continent,' he tried in vain to win his assent to the loss of Leipzig.[1] A complete deadlock seemed again to have been produced, for Castlereagh could not hope to receive further concessions from Austria on the Saxon frontier. In this extremity he turned to Alexander and succeeded in obtaining his consent to the transference of Thorn to Prussia.[2] With this bribe he at last succeeded in extracting Leipzig from the reluctant Prussians, and the greatest of the difficulties was practically solved. Other points, however, such as Mayence, remained open. In this situation Castlereagh, on his own responsibility, forced sacrifices from Hannover and Holland (both of which Powers he could in the last resort control), and by this means constructed an entirely new scheme, by which he was able to bring Austria and Prussia to an agreement.[3] Talleyrand had already been won over by a promise with regard to Naples, which Castlereagh had made him by the permission of his Cabinet,[4] and on February 6 Castlereagh was able to announce to his Court that 'all the territorial arrangements on this side of the Alps are complete.' It was his zeal, his courage, his energy and his broad statesmanship that had made such a result possible.

[1] Castlereagh to Liverpool, February 6. Appendix, p. 50.

[2] *Ibid.* February 6. *F.O. Continent*, 11. Appendix, p. 50. *Cf.* Delbruck, *op. cit.* p. 252; but this despatch shows clearly that it was Castlereagh who secured the concession.

[3] *Ibid.* February 6. Appendix, p. 51.

[4] *Ibid.* January 29 (Private). *F.O. Continent*, 11. The permission of the Cabinet had arrived. *Cf.* Liverpool to Wellington, January 11. *Wellington S.D.* ix. 533.

APPENDIX

Bathurst to Castlereagh (No. 3), November 27, 1814. 'F.O. Continent,' 6

. . . I am commanded by H.R.H. to acquaint you, that whilst He deeply laments the unfortunate course which the Discussions at Vienna have taken respecting Poland in consequence of the unjust demands & dangerous pretensions of the Emperor of R[ussia], H.R.H. Entirely approves of the firm and decided Manner, in w^{h} You have expressed the Sentiments of H.R.H. Gov^{t} on the different branches of this important Question: And in the Event of your failing to avert the Establishment of such pretensions, you will, as far as possible, avoid making H.R.H. a party to arrangements so injurious to the general Interests of Europe.

H.R.H. cannot contemplate the present State of Europe, and more Especially the internal State of France, Italy, and the Low Countries, without Entertaining the most serious Apprehensions of the consequences which would result from the renewal of War on the Continent under present circumstances.

H.R.H. has no doubt therefore that you will use your best Endeavours to prevent by all the means in your power so great an Evil.

It is unnecessary for me to point out to you the Impossibility of H.R.H. consenting to involve this Country in hostilities at this time for any of the objects which have been hitherto under discussion at Vienna.

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 1), September 3, 1814. Geneva. 'F.O. Continent,' 7

. . . The Letters I received at Brussells, especially from The Duke of Wellington, determined me to go to Paris, and I consider that the Result has fully justified the Considerations which dictated this Measure, however inconvenient in it's Execution, as it enabled me to dissipate many doubts, to bring the French Government to a more temperate View of the Description of Understanding which ought to subsist between us, and to precede the Prince de Benevent to Vienna with a much more formed Notion of the mode of thinking of his Court than I could have otherwise obtained.

I cannot pretend, in the compass of a Despatch, to give Your Lordship, even in outline, the Substance of two long Interviews with that Minister occupying not less than five hours, in which, as he assured me by the King's Command, he discussed the various topicks likely to come under consideration at Vienna with perfect unreserve. I was honoured also by The King with a Private Audience of above two Hours, in which His Majesty went, seriatim, through the same Points. I could observe shades of Opinion on some of the Points, but as to their desire and determination to cultivate a Connection with Great Britain, The King and His Minister were equally cordial and explicit.

My Task was rather to repress the Exuberance of this Sentiment, and to prevent it's assuming a Shape, which, by exciting jealousy in other States might impair our respective means of being really useful. I flatter myself I succeeded in this, and, as a proof, I have reason to believe that M. de Talleyrand, laying aside his former Jealousy, regarded with Satisfaction my preceding him to Vienna ; and as no inconsiderable indication of Confidence, he left me at liberty to use at my own Discretion, in my Inter-course with the allied Ministers previous to his Arrival, what I had found to be the sentiments of his Court.

This Authority may be material in my preparatory Discussions with Count Nesselrode. I found the Sentiments of the French Gov[t] with respect to Poland perfectly analogous to Our own.—A decided Repugnance to the Russian projêt, as the most dangerous and unjust of the Three ; a strong abstract preference (especially in The King's Mind) for the Re-existence of Poland as an independent State in the House of Saxony, but this Idea subdued by a sense of the danger of the Attempt, into a desire not to subvert but to regulate the existing Principle of Partition. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 3), OCTOBER 2, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 71[1]

. . . The day after his Arrival, I received The Emperor of Russia's Commands to attend him, and was honoured with an Audience of Two Hours and a half. . . .

I represented that most certainly the British Government would view with great Satisfaction the Restoration of Poland to

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, *Das Zeitalter der Befreiungskriege* etc. ii. 844.

it's Independence as a Nation, but that they took a broad distinction between the Erection of a part of Poland into a Kingdom merged in the Crown of Russia, and the Restoration of the whole or a greater part into a distinct and independent State. That to the latter measure they would feel every friendly disposition, if it could be effected with the Concurrence and Support of the Neighbouring Powers, and if I was not authorised to press such a Measure upon His Imperial Majesty's Attention, it arose only from the Reluctance the Prince Regent felt to suggest any Measure for the adoption of his Allies, which might be felt by them to call for an unreasonable Sacrifice of Interest after the great Exertions they had lately been called upon to make—but that if the Question of restoring Poland was to be stirred at all, the British Government were of Opinion, to be either just in itself, or safe in it's operation, that it ought to be taken up upon a broad and liberal Basis; and that I had reason to believe neither Austria nor Prussia would hesitate to unite themselves with His Imperial Majesty for such a purpose, however strongly they deprecated the proposed Measure.

The Emperor frankly acknowledged that he was not prepared to make this Extent of Sacrifice on the part of his Empire, but continued to argue the Safety of the Measure to His Allies—it's Advantage to the Poles, and favorable collateral Influence upon Russia. . . .

I ventured to assure His Imperial Majesty that a Measure of this partial and disquieting Nature would be disapproved by all Europe, and that it was odious and alarming in the extreme to both his Allies: That if The King of Prussia, from personal deference and Regard, was apparently more acquiescent, His Majesty's Repugnance and that of His Subjects was not the less strong. That such was the universal Sentiment, His Imperial Majesty would find from all the Ministers present, and were the general Impression even founded in Prejudice, and not in reason it was in vain to hope that an Attempt so repugnant to the prevailing feeling of Europe could be productive of good.

I submitted that I had argued the Question more as a Russian than a British Minister, at least than as a British Minister having any Sinister View with respect to Russian Interests; that if I wished to involve His Imperial Majesty in internal Difficulties, to embarrass his Administration and to embroil him with his Neighbours, I should urge His Imperial Majesty to pursue the Course he had stated; but that the object

of my Government was to promote quiet, and there was nothing they more desired than to preserve their Connection with Russia and to see His Imperial Majesty enjoy the fruits of His most glorious Labours. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 4), OCTOBER 2, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 7

The day after my Interview with The Emperor, Count Nesselrode called on me, apparently to learn the Impression made upon me by my Conversation with His Imperial Majesty. . . .

I thought it material to explain myself to Count Nesselrode upon one View of the Subject, which the nature of my Discussion with The Emperor did not enable me to touch upon, namely upon the possibility of His Imperial Majesty abandoning the Political but adhering to the Territorial Part of his Plan. I told him that, feeling as the British Government did upon the Question of Polish Independence, it could not be expected that we should consent to bear the odium of any Disappointment the Nation might experience, whilst Russia carried into effect her Views of Aggrandizement against the declared Sentiments of her Allies, and, as I believed, equally against the general sense of Europe. That it was not only dangerous but degrading to Austria and Prussia in the Eyes of their own Subjects as well as of Europe, to deny them the Semblance of a military Frontier, and it was no remedy for such a menacing arrangement, to hold out to these Courts Indemnifications elsewhere, to reconcile them to this undisguised State of Military dependence upon Russia. . . .

I further pressed the Embarrassments it must expose us to in Congress especially the Plenipotentiaries of those Powers who had publickly to defend the System to which they gave their Sanction: That I looked with the more pain to any difference of this nature, wishing to find myself enabled to act in concert with the Allies throughout, but that to do so, they must give me a System which I could defend. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 6), OCTOBER 9, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 7 [1]

. . . I acquainted Your Lordship by my last Courier, that I feared no effectual Resistance could be made to the Views of

[1] Oncken, ii. 845.

Russia in that Quarter, and that the Two Neighbouring Powers were more likely to seek their Own Aggrandisement in other directions, than oppose themselves to the Pretentions of their more powerful Neighbour.

I was not the less confirmed in this Impression, from perceiving that the extravagant tone of War which Austria had held, was accompanied by an equal Jealousy of Prussia on the Side of Saxony, and of France in Italy, which at once proved, that Compromise and not Resistance was really intended, and further from knowing, that Prussia, feeling she had no other Support than Russia to secure to her Saxony against the Views both of Austria and France, could not afford to risk that support, by too decisive an opposition to the Emperor's Designs with respect to Poland.

Under these Circumstances I conceived, that the only chance of doing good was to take up some ground of opposition short of War, and to endeavour to bring Austria and Prussia to a compromise in Germany, in order that they might unite against Russia upon the Polish Question.

The existing Congress appeared to me to furnish a suitable Expedient, as it enabled those Powers to represent to Russia, without menacing her with War, that they could not make themselves, in the face of Europe, the Instruments of their Own Humiliation, by recommending *that* as just, wise and proper, against which they had been so long engaged in remonstrances—that it was one thing silently to submit, and another to originate a measure of National Danger.

With this view, I desired an Audience of The King of Prussia. I found His Majesty, as in England, the Advocate of The Emperor of Russia, although personally adverse to his Measures. I represented that the Evil might yet, with proper Management, be arrested without a Contest. I pressed His Majesty not to abandon the Interests of His Monarchy in Despair, and begged that he would oppose every obstacle, short of Arms, to an Arrangement which left his Provinces uncovered, and his State in obvious Dependence upon another Power.

I then opened myself unreservedly to Prince Metternich and Prince Hardenberg, and endeavoured to make them feel the Dangers to which their disunion exposed both their Monarchies. The latter explained himself very frankly, that whilst Saxony was in doubt, and with it the Possibility of Prussia being suitably reconstructed, it was impossible for him, more especially feeling

as his King did, to risk the favour of Russia, but that if Saxony was assured to him by Austria and England, he could then unite with Austria, to oppose such resistance as prudence might justify, to Russian Encroachments.

I found Prince Metternich without any fixed Plan. In descending from his War Language he appeared to me to fall into the other extreme, and to think in fact only of compromise. I represented the Necessity of an Understanding with Prussia, as the only chance of present good, or possibly of future Safety.

Prince Metternich, the following day, had an Interview with Prince Hardenberg, and professed his Willingness to enter into his Views with respect to Saxony, provided an Understanding could thereby be established with respect to Poland, and certain German Points of Minor Importance. The Parties profess a mutual desire to understand each other, but there is a certain degree of mutual distrust, and fear of Russia, which does not justify me in speaking confidently of the Result.

I endeavoured to derive some Aid in this Attempt from the Appui of France—but, unfortunately, the Manner in which Prince Talleyrand has conducted himself here, rather excited apprehension in both the Austrian and Prussian Ministers, than inspired them with any Confidence in His Views.

Although adverse to the designs of Russia in Poland, he betrayed not less Hostility to their's in Germany and Italy, and both, perhaps not unnaturally, seem equally to dread the appearance of a French Force at present in the Field. . . .

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 9), October 14, 1814. 'F.O. Continent,' 7

. . . In pressing upon The Emperor The Rights of Austria under the Treaty of the 27th June [1813] His Imperial Majesty was at first embarrassed, and appeared to have forgot the Article. After some Reflection, he attempted to bring his intended Arrangement within the Words of the Treaty, by stating, that he meant to cede the half of the Salines which belonged to the Dutchy, to Austria, an object too trifling to have deserved Notice, much less to be put forward in satisfaction of such an Engagement.

When driven in Argument upon the Territorial Question, His Imperial Majesty again took Shelter under his Moral Duty, that if it was merely a question of Territory, he would yield

it without a Struggle, but that it involved the Happiness of the Poles, and the People would never forgive his ceding them. I asked His Imperial Majesty how he distinguished between his Duty to the Poles on one side of his Line and on the other, and that, where he could not satisfy his Principle without denying even to Prussia any Share, he should not do Violence to his Engagements with Austria, to please the Poles.

I further represented, that if the Principle of Moral Duty was so far limited as to be controuled and even extinguished by deference for Russian Interests, which His Imperial Majesty had declared it was, in the Instance of making Poland really free, he must not expect other States to admit this Consideration as binding upon them, to the Sacrifice of Interests not less essential.

I met the Emperor afterwards in the Evening at Court. His Imperial Majesty assumed a very gracious Manner, and said he always respected my *franchise*, although he differed with me in opinion. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 12), OCTOBER 24, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 7

[Transmits the Austrian answer to the Prussian demand for Saxony.]

. . . Having been shewn the Brouillon of the proposed Answer on the Night of the 22nd, I took the earliest Opportunity of preparing Prince Hardenberg for it, foreseeing that the Point of Mayence was likely to prove a serious Impediment in the Way of an Understanding.

I found him, when I saw him next Morning, extremely warm upon this Subject. I did not combat the Validity of His Reasoning; but represented that, important as this Fortress was, it should not be made an obstacle to so salutary a Measure, as the Union of the two Great German Powers at such a Conjuncture.

That the Wishes as well as the Interests of Great Britain must be on the side of the Northern States, but when Austria chose to rely upon Bavaria, and to incur the greater Risque upon such a Combination, it appeared to me, that Prussia never could persuade the World, that she, bonâ fide, desired the Alliance, if she broke off upon this single Condition, after Austria had made to her so great a Sacrifice as the Saxon Point.

It was agreed that the Austrian and Prussian Ministers should meet the following Day (Sunday) at my House, and I have the Gratification to state, that the Result was satisfactory. Prince Hardenberg expressed himself satisfied with the Explanations he had received on the Point of Saxony, reserving to himself to reply to Prince Metternich's Reasoning against the total Incorporation of Saxony with Prussia. He stated strongly his Objections to entrusting so important a Fortress as Mayence to Bavaria alone ; but was ready to reserve these Points for further Discussion (satisfied that they could not impede the desired Union) and proceed at once to act in Concert with Austria, and England upon the Polish Question.

The Measures to be jointly adopted with this View were then discussed : and they desired me to prepare a Memorandum of the Result, a Copy of which (No. 4) I now inclose, on which they mean to take the pleasure of their respective Sovereigns.

I took occasion to see Prince Talleyrand soon after, anxious to render his Course, as far as possible, conformable to Our Views. I found He had had an Interview with The Emperor of Russia, in which He had been pressing his Saxon Views (and if I may credit His Imperial Majesty's Confidential Report of the Conversation to me) with a Disposition to make his Line on the Polish Question subservient to them. The Emperor however was equally obdurate with him upon both. In this fact their respective Reports concurred, but there can be no doubt that attempts are making, principally through Prince Czartorisky to play a Back Game of this Description. I have done my best to counteract it, and shall desire the Duke of Wellington, as from himself, to insinuate through M. de Blacas, that any Attempt on the part of France to make such a Collateral Point as that of Saxony a Question of War, in subversion of the more important object of opposing a Barrier to Russia, must, in all Probability, not only destroy their friendly Relations with England, but lead to immediate Hostilities, and that it's obvious and first effect must be to compel England to sign a Peace with Murat, in order to place Austria in Security on the Side of Italy, and thus enable her to direct her Efforts to her Polish Frontier. Whereas if France acts upon the broad Principles of European Equilibrium, instead of fighting smaller Points of local Influence, in the Event of success attending the common effort with respect to Poland, she would have improved means of urging amicably upon Prussia some Modification of her Demands upon Saxony. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 15), NOVEMBER 5, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 8

[Narrates discussion with Alexander leading to correspondence.]

. . . I should have wished that this Species of discussion had fallen into more able hands, and especially that it could have been conducted by the Minister of one of the Powers more immediately interested in the Polish question; but when I saw the Service suffering from inaction, I found it difficult to be passive, and Your Lordship may be assured that England is still the only Power that either can, or dares raise her Voice against the Powerful and the Oppressor.

I wish I could lead Your Lordship to expect a favourable issue to these Polish Discussions. I shall furnish you with the Details of their intermediate progress since my last in a separate Despatch. My object has been that, at least, the Prince Regent should stand justified in the eyes of Europe, whatever may be the Event, and that if the Powers most immediately interested should find themselves obliged to submit to an unjust and illiberal Act of Power, that H.R.H.'s Ministers may have been found true to these Principles, which have distinguished the British Government throughout the War, and which have conciliated to her Councils the Respect and Confidence of the Continent. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 16), NOVEMBER 11, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 8

. . . The Failure of the efforts hitherto made is chiefly owing to the personal ascendancy, which the Emperor has unfortunately acquired over the King of Prussia. When at Buda His Imperial Majesty omitted no Exertion to operate on the minds of both the other Sovereigns. His usual mode is to represent their ministers as the obstacle to Harmony, and that the whole system of their policy ought to be settled by the Sovereigns themselves. This Language, which was particularly directed against Prince Metternich, made no sort of impression on *his* Master, but the Emperor was more successful in a long conversation with Prince Hardenberg, in presence of the King of Prussia, by which he contrived not only to embarrass that minister, but to deprive his intervention of much of its weight.

I was induced when I first arrived here, to undervalue the importance attached by the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets to the Polish question, and to suppose that they both might be more easily reconciled by arrangements elsewhere, to suffer the Emperor to execute His purpose than has proved to be the fact.

The prospect of reconciling their differences on German affairs was no sooner opened, than both Austria and Prussia resumed their former earnestness on this point, which was much augmented by a variety of collateral indications of the intriguing spirit, which actuated the Russian Councils in other quarters.

I deemed it of Great importance to contribute as far as depended upon me, to this concert : considering the establishment of Russia in the heart of Germany not only as constituting a great danger in itself, but as calculated to establish a most pernicious influence both in the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets ; and I also foresaw, that if these two Powers, from distrust of each other, gave up the Polish point as desperate, the contest in negotiation would then turn upon Saxony, Mayence and other German Points, and through the contentions of Austria and Prussia, the supremacy of Russia would be established in all directions, and upon every Question ; whereas an understanding previously established on German affairs, gave some chance of ameliorating the Polish arrangement, and, in case of it's failure, afforded the best, if not the only means of counteracting the Russian influence in the other European arrangements. . . .

I have certainly been led, from circumstances, to take a more active share in the discussions on this question, than I should have permitted myself to do, if it had been any part of my policy to push the Polish point to a hostile issue. In preparing for so serious an alternative, I should have felt the propriety, as a British minister, of preserving a greater degree of reserve ; it being the province of Great Britain to support, rather than lead, in such occasions. But in proportion as I felt that an effort ought to be made successively by conciliation, by moderation, by persuasion, by pressure of argument, and ultimately if necessary by an imposing negociation, uniting the general sentiments of Europe upon sound and popular grounds, and not by arms, I felt the less precluded from taking a forward part. Some advantages perhaps have resulted from my being the person to do so, as the same arguments, had they

been urged by the parties most interested, might have rendered accommodation more difficult. Such are the principles upon which my conduct has hitherto been founded. It will be highly gratifying to me should they be honored with the Prince Regent's Gracious approbation, and with the concurrence of my colleagues in the Government. Since I have been on the continent, in my intercourse with the several Cabinets, I have conceived it my duty to keep in View the following principles, considering them as those on which it was the intention of His Royal Highness' Government that I should act. In the first place, so to conduct the arrangements to be framed for Congress, as to make the establishment of a just equilibrium in Europe the first object of my attention, and to consider the assertion of minor points of interest as subordinate to this great end. Secondly, to use my best endeavours to support the powers who had contributed to save Europe by their exertions, in their just pretensions to be liberally reestablished upon the scale to which their treaties entitled them to lay claim, and not to be deterred from doing so, by the necessity of adopting, for this end, measures, which, although not unjust, are nevertheless painful and unpopular in themselves. And Thirdly to endeavour to combine this latter duty to our Friends and Allies, with as much mildness and indulgence even to the offending states, as circumstances would permit.

I have pursued these views, with a fixed and anxious purpose, if possible, not to suffer the Peace of Europe to be disturbed, even upon just Grounds, if by any compromise or even reasonable sacrifice it could be avoided. If in discharge of this duty, I have felt myself obliged strongly to remonstrate against the principles and temper disclosed by the Russian Councils, I hope I have maintained honest principles, and I am confident that the Relations between the two Governments would not have been improved by a more pliant tone on my part, opposed to that in which the Emperor has of late been disposed to dictate.

Your Lordship may rest assured that no effort on my part shall be omitted to prevent disunion, and still more War; But I am confident I speak the universal sentiment, when I declare my perfect conviction, that unless the Emperor of Russia can be brought to a more moderate and sound course of Public conduct, the Peace, which we have so dearly purchased, will be but of short duration.

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 26), DECEMBER 5, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 81[1]

. . . Your Lordship will recollect that the Circumstances which preceded the Transfer of the Negotiation into the Management of Prussia, were not such as to afford much prospect of insisting with effect upon any demand, more especially one of any Magnitude. This, as I understand, induced the Austrian Minister to represent to Prince Hardenberg the necessity under existing Circumstances of Prussia modifying her Saxon Pretentions, so as not only to secure the Concurrence of the several German powers, and if possible of France, to her Arrangements; but also to compensate, in some Measure, the disappointment of Austria as to her Polish Frontier, by relieving her from that Jealousy, which the total Extinction of an intermediate Power on her Bohemian Frontier must occasion. . . .

It is not merely in her Territorial Relations that the Spirit disclosed in the late Negotiations embarrasses Austria. She feels still greater Uneasiness from the Temper of the Russian Councils, and from the Commanding Sway The Emperor has acquired, through the King, over those of Prussia. Had Prince Hardenberg been enabled to range himself, as he promised to do, on the side of Austria, in a sincere, open, and undisguised Negotiation with Russia upon the Polish Question, whatever might have been the Success of this effort, the world would have taken it as a Proof that Prussia was true to the Interests of Germany,—and it would have given Austria a strong moral Justification for making great Sacrifices to her in Saxony; but the Misfortune is, that the Impression, as well as the fact is now the other way, and that Russia and Prussia are looked upon as one, pledged to support each other's objects, whatever may be their Effect either upon Austrian or German Interests.

Prince Metternich forcibly represented to me yesterday, the difficulty in which he found himself placed under the Circumstances above stated. He stated that he felt himself nominally allied with Russia and Prussia, but with the prospect, upon every litigated Question, of having both against him; That under these Circumstances, however desirous of bending, as far as possible, for the sake of an Adjustment, He did not feel that he could venture to run counter, on the Saxon Question,

[1] Cf. Angeberg, *Congrès de Vienne*, p. 493.

to the moral feeling of Germany, to the Sentiments of his own Cabinet, and to the declared opinion of the French Government, without the hazard of leaving himself and his Government without the support in Europe, which was become indispensable to It's Security and Independence, whilst Russia possessed so commanding an Influence over the Prussian Cabinet.

I foresaw, from the first, that these German Questions, if they could not be resolved from a Sense of common danger, by a Union of common Interest between the two great German Powers, upon the Polish Question, would prove beyond all Comparison the most fruitful Source of Discord, from the Complexity of the Combinations amongst the German States, worked upon both by Russian and French Influence.

The Austrian Minister no sooner perceived from the Conduct and Language of The King of Prussia, and from the Retrocession of the Prussian Minister upon the Saxon Point, that the Intervention of Prussia in the Negotiation was little more than nominal, than, in despair of accomplishing any thing effectual on the Polish Question, he only considered how he could best make an accommodation with Russia subservient to a Modification on the Point of Saxony, which I look upon now as the point practically at issue, however the other may remain open to further Discussion. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 27), DECEMBER 7, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 8

[Interview with Hardenberg.]

. . . I stated to him that there was but one Sentiment amongst us all, that Prussia should be re-constructed upon the Scale to which her Treaties entitled her to lay claim; and that the only question was whether the whole of Saxony should be included in the Territories to be assigned to her. In observing on the Difficulties that opposed themselves to such an Arrangement, I delivered to His Highness an Extract of Your Lordship's Private Letter of the 18th Ulto., as the best proof not of what those usually opposed to The King's Government in Great Britain, might urge in the Controversy of Debate upon this Subject, but of the Sentiments deliberately entertained by those most friendly to the interests of Prussia. I requested Prince Hardenberg to lay this Extract before The King in corroboration of the Advice I had given him some time since,

namely that as Minister for Prussia, he ought to prefer a compromise on this Question to a total Extinction.

I did not however conceal from him that I considered the point as now standing on different Grounds from what it did when my Letter of the 11th of Oct[r] and Prince Metternich's of the 22nd of October were written.

That in doing Justice to the Loyalty of his Intentions, it was impossible to deny that the Concert on the Affairs of Poland, which was the Basis of the Understanding, had avowedly failed through the Conduct of his Sovereign; that under these Circumstances, neither Austria nor Great Britain could espouse his Claims in the manner they might otherwise have done. . . .

Prince Hardenberg endeavoured to maintain, the hardship upon Prussia, after all her Exertions, to find herself thwarted in her views, and that He would run all risks rather than return home under such an humiliation. I represented that this was not a case of War, that he was in the occupation of Saxony, and that I apprehended no one would think of removing him hostilely, from thence, but that he could not regard an unacknowledged Claim as constituting a Good Title, and that he never could, in *conscience* or *Honour* advise his Sovereign to make the mere refusal of a Recognition Cause of War against other States; That Prussia would then remain in a State of disquietude and doubt, compelled to remain armed, and that his Return to Berlin would, under such Circumstances, be more painful, than if he brought back the accession of all the Powers of Europe to an equal Extent of Dominion, though differently constituted.

In impressing upon Prince Hardenberg's mind the friendly share Great Britain had always borne in asserting the Interests of Prussia, and the successful Efforts recently made by myself to prevail upon Austria to sacrifice her Objections on the Point of Saxony to the larger question of Poland, His Highness became more reasonable and agreed to take *ad referendum* a Counter Projêt from Austria, shewing how Prussia could be secured in her Rights without laying claim to the entire of Saxony. The Chancellor also allowed me strongly to impress upon him that, in proportion as the World imputed to His Court whether falsely or not, it was not necessary to decide, an alarming degree of Subservience to Russian Influence, that it became the more impolitick in him, wishing as I had no doubt he did,

to preserve the General Confidence of Europe, to attempt to force an Arrangement, which several of the principal Powers of Europe might decline to sanction. That in proportion as he had failed to bring forward his King upon the Polish Question, he ought to be accommodating on that of Germany, if he wished to be respected among his Co-Estates, and not to build his authority amongst them upon an external Influence.

I left the Prussian Minister more temperate upon the Point than I had expected to find him. Having prepared him for a Negative from Austria under present Circumstances to the total Incorporation of Saxony, I afterwards saw Prince Metternich, and urged him to frame His Answer to the Prussian Paper, in such a Manner as would present at once to Prince Hardenberg's Mind the Difficulty of executing his purpose against the prevailing Sentiment, and would shew him in a Counter Projêt how his just Views could be otherwise realized.

This Prince Metternich promised to do. He was much pleased with the Part I had taken, and, as he is but too apt to do, considered an Arrangement now as certain. Much will yet depend on obtaining from Russia some further territorial Means in Poland: Without these I do not see how the Various Pretentions can be at all adequately satisfied. We must still hope that The Emperor will not suffer things to get into Confusion for a limited Extent of Territory. If he cedes up to the Wartha and the Nidda it will give essential facilities. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 35), DECEMBER 18, 1814. 'F.O. CONTINENT,' 9

I am not enabled to add anything on which I can absolutely rely relative to the Negotiation. I have some Reason however to believe that a new Projêt, assigning to The King of Saxony an increased indemnity to the Extent of Eight hundred thousand Subjects, *but not in Saxony*, has been laid before The Emperor Alexander, for his Sanction, by Prince Hardenberg. I have heard from another Quarter, that the Prussian answer or Projêt, whatever it is, was not approved by His Imperial Majesty. Baron Stein is the most earnest opponent in the Prussian Councils of any Modification of the Saxon Point. Prince Metternich declares that nothing will induce his Emperor to give way on this Subject; and as a proof that his Court is determined, he has transmitted his last Note to Prince Hardenberg officially to Prince Talleyrand. This is the first

regular overture that has been made by Austria to France; the personal Intercourse between these ministers has been considerably augmented within these few days.

The Austrian Minister having expressed a wish for my Intervention on the point of Saxony, and a similar Insinuation coming through Count Hardenberg on the part of Prussia, but accompanied by a doubt whether the recent Conduct of that Cabinet might not indispose me to interfere, I thought it right to declare, that no feeling with respect to the past would make me refuse my Intervention, if I thought I could be instrumental in bringing the Parties to an amicable Arrangement, however much I might desire, on personal Grounds, to be as little mixed as possible with this Question of Saxony; but that to afford any Chance of being of use, my Interference must be equally desired by the Parties, and I must be previously assured, that Prussia is prepared to admit as a Basis, a suitable Arrangement for the King in Saxony. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 38), DECEMBER 24, 1814.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 9

I stated to Your Lordship in my Despatch No. 35 the desire which had been evinced directly by Austria, and indirectly by Prussia, for my Intervention on the Saxon Point, and the Language I had held upon this subject.

The following day Prince Czartorinsky, who although not in any official Situation, appears now the actual Russian Minister, at least on Polish and Saxon Questions, desired to call on me. . . .

The object of his Conversation was to ascertain the Sentiments of my Court upon the Saxon Question, and to consider how we could best escape from the difficulties in which we were placed. . . .

The following day, Prince Hardenberg desired to see me, for the purpose of communicating to me his Memoir, and expressed a Wish, after our Separate Interview was closed, that I would allow him to have a Conference with me in Prince Czartorinski and Baron Stein's Presence, to all which I agreed; at the latter Conversation Baron Humboldt also assisted.

The object of this conference seemed to be, to ascertain how far I could be prevailed on to support the proposed Establishment of The King of Saxony beyond the Rhine, in favour of

which they urged all the reasons arising from the Evil of dividing that Country, and the discontent and Intrigues to which it would hereafter give occasion; The necessity of the whole of Saxony to give Solidity to Prussia, and the Hardship, after all their Hopes, of depriving them of this Possession.

To this I opposed the Impossibility of procuring the Acquiescence necessary to render such an arrangement really beneficial to Prussia. The King clearly would not relinquish his Rights for such an Establishment as was proposed. France certainly would neither encourage him to do so, nor recognise the Possession in Prussia to his Prejudice. Austria would be as little disposed to force upon The King of Saxony an Arrangement, which would work a particular Injury to herself; and with respect to Great Britain, although I had never held the Rights of The King of Saxony to be paramount to the Interests of Europe in the larger Sense, nor yet to the just Re-construction, according to her Treaties, of Prussia, yet that under all the Circumstances of the Present Case, I could not admit a necessity sufficiently strong to exist, as to justify the adoption of so harsh and strong a Measure as the total Incorporation of Saxony, in opposition to the prevailing Sentiment of Germany, not less so, as I believed, of Great Britain, and the declared opposition of some of the most preponderating Powers in Europe.

That I could the less do so as my Conviction was, that Prussia would not gain real Strength by such an unpopular Measure, even if acquiesced in, whereas, if it led to War, it was unnecessary to argue the Impolicy of an act, which might have the Effect of bringing a French Army into Germany to assail, and a Russian Army to defend, Prussia. . . .

This discussion lasted nearly two hours, during which time I had to sustain the United efforts of those present, to convert me, and to impeach the Conduct which Austria had pursued. It ended, however, in my contributing, as far as the Weight of the British Government could operate, to produce more temperate Councils on the part of Prussia, and in making the Russians more correctly appreciate the course that had been pursued towards Prussia; I added that whatever opposition I had given to the Polish Arrangement; and although I must still reserve to myself the Right to protest against that Measure, yet that being once acquiesced in by the Powers most interested, I should be found not the less desirous to promote a conciliatory Settlement on other Points. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 43), JANUARY 1, 1815.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 10

. . . Before I gave my Consent to be present, I thought it right to have an Explanatory Interview with Count Razamoffski and Prince Hardenberg for two objects. The first was to desire it might be understood, that by assisting at the Arrangement of the details of the intended Polish Measure, I was not to be considered as altering or withdrawing any part of the Opposition I had felt it my Duty to give to the Principle of that measure on behalf of my Court, that, with this reserve however, I was perfectly ready to contribute, as far as lay in my power, to render the Arrangement as little exceptionable as possible in its minor Provisions.

The second point which I desired to press was that France might be invited to take a part in the Saxon Negotiations, not to the abandonment of Confidential Discussion between The Powers that had been allied in the War, but that the former Power might not feel that She was deliberately excluded from the Consideration of a Question, on which She had professed to take so strong an Interest. . . .

After this business was concluded there was much general Discussion on the Point of Saxony—The Prussian Ministers adhering tenaciously to the Principle of total Incorporation, but declaring their Willingness to consider any other Projêt that might be brought forward for adequately re-constructing Prussia under her Treaties.

To this it was replied by the Austrian and English Plenipotentiaries, that although they were of opinion that the Means existed of fulfilling their Engagements to Prussia, without divesting The King of Saxony of the whole of his Dominions, yet that until France was combined in the Negotiation, we had not the means of concerting a Counter Projêt, which, by uniting the Appui necessary, might induce The King of Saxony to cede what was required, that Prince Talleyrand would not concert Modifications with us in our Individual Capacity, and that to postpone communicating with him till the four Powers had come to a previous decision, was calculated to provoke opposition, instead of conciliating the important Power he represented, to assist in settling *à l'Aimable*, a question upon which we were unfortunately divided in opinion: . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 44), JANUARY 1, 1815.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 10[1]

Although I have had strong reason to hope that a disposition existed in the Prussian Cabinet to accommodate on the Saxon Point, should a liberal offer be made them, yet there are indications which justify the utmost Vigilance with respect to their ultimate Policy.

The Language of their Entourés is very warlike, and strongly against yielding any part of Saxony; Baron Humboldt's particularly so. His Reasoning yesterday in Our Conference, which he attends as one of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries, went every length, but that of refusing to discuss such Alternative as might be proposed. They are organising their Army for the field, and, I have heard to-day, are employed in fortifying Dresden. This may be all menace to sustain their Negotiation, but they may also meditate some sudden effort, in conjunction with Russia to coerce Austria, and place themselves in a Situation to dictate their own terms on all other Points—the Conduct of their Employés on the left Bank of The Rhine has been extremely vexatious of late towards the Prince of Orange's Government, and no attention has yet been paid here to any of their Reclamations.

These Indications have attracted the more seriously my Attention, from a declaration incidentally made by Prince Hardenberg in yesterday's Conference, that Should Prussia continue to consider the Annexation of the whole of Saxony necessary to Her Re-construction, She could not, in point of Expence, submit to remain in a State of Provisional Occupation, and that Russia and Prussia would, in such a Case, consider a Refusal to acknowledge, as tantamount to a Declaration of War.

I took occasion to protest in the strongest terms against this principle as a most alarming and unheard of Menace; That it should be competent for One Power to invade another, and by force to compel a Recognition which was founded upon no treaty, and where no attempt had been made to disturb the Possession of the invading Power in the Territory to which he laid Claim. That such an Insinuation might operate upon a Power trembling for it's Existence, but must have the contrary Effect upon all that were alive to their Own Dignity; and I

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, ii. 873.

added that if such a Temper really prevailed, we were not deliberating in a State of Independence, and it were better to break up the Congress.

This unguarded Declaration was afterwards softened down, and, to a degree, explained away; but it has not failed, coupled with other Expressions used in Private, to create a strong Sensation and Alarm, that if Prussia should not ultimately yield, she will attempt, as is the practice of her Government in lesser Concerns, some bold and desperate Coup to deliver herself suddenly from the Embarrassments of a protracted State of Armament and questioned Occupation.

This Sort of principle openly announced in a formal Conference in the name of two great Powers avowedly making Common Cause, and having large Armies ready to act, has appeared to Us to call for some precautionary corrective by which the other Powers may be induced to feel that, in the discharge of their functions in Congress, they are not exposed individually and in detail to the destructive Effects of such a domineering dictation.

Under these Circumstances I have felt it an act of Imperative Duty to concert with the French and Austrian Plenipotentiaries a Treaty of defensive Alliance, confined within the strict Necessity of this most Extraordinary Case. Without some such Bond, I feel that our Deliberations here are at an End; and although I flatter myself that the necessity will never arise for acting upon these Engagements, yet after what had passed, I should not consider myself justified in leaving either Our common Councils here, or the great Interests we have at Stake in other Quarters, at the Mercy of States promulgating such Principles, without providing for them in time the best Protection in my Power.

I indulge the Confident hope that my Conduct upon this Occasion may appear to the Prince Regent and to his Government to have been justified by the Circumstances of the Case, and the Exigency of the Occasion.

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 45), January 1, 1815. 'F.O. Continent,' 10[1]

I inclose the Projêt of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance alluded to in my Despatch No. 44. I have just gone through

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, ii. 875.

it with Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand, and it has received their entire approbation. The latter has charged himself with the French Redaction.

It is due to Prince Talleyrand to state, that his Conduct throughout all our late Transactions, has done the utmost Honour to his Court, and altho' his Official Correspondence takes an inconveniently lofty Tone upon the Point of Saxony, yet I do not doubt he will ultimately lend himself to what may be wise and practicable on that question. I have expressly declared, that whilst I concur with him in opinion that Saxony ought not to be wholly absorbed in Prussia, that I will not suffer, as far as Great Britain is concerned, the Peace of Europe to be sacrificed upon any principle of Modification, of which the Question may be reasonably susceptible.

With respect to all the Stipulations calculated to secure and cover Our Interests in the Low Countries, etc., I have not only found His Highness *Coulant*, but ready to go before my Wishes; and I am confident, whatever bad principles may prevail in the French Nation or in the Army on this Point, The King's Government is sound upon it.

When I read to him that Article of the Treaty which goes to regulate by the Peace of Paris, in the Event of War, the future frontiers of the contracting Parties, he expressed the great Satisfaction He would feel in signing, and The King would have in making, in the face of Europe, this declaration, so conformable to all his Principles and Determinations.

I hope we shall be enabled, in the course of tomorrow or the day following, to sign the Convention. I shall then forward it to Your Lordship, but as I do not foresee that it is likely to experience any very material Alteration, I shall despatch the present Messenger, in order that Your Lordship may be prepared for it's reception, and that the Return of the Ratifications may be accelerated as much as possible.

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 50), January 8, 1815. 'F.O. Continent,' 10 [1]

The Importance of counteracting by every possible Effort, and without Loss of time, the Attempts in Progress to prevail upon the King of Saxony to accept an Establishment on the Left Bank of the Rhine, determined me to solicit an Audience

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, ii. 878.

of The Emperor of Russia, for the purpose of representing to His Imperial Majesty, my Sentiments upon this Subject.

I had an Opportunity yesterday Morning, in a very long Interview, of going fully into the Subject, and I have since understood confidentially from Count Razamoffsky, who saw His Imperial Majesty after I left him, that my Reasoning had served to give Him a new View of this Question, and that my Objections were considered to have great Weight. I did not however deem it prudent to rest the Point merely upon the Argument, but represented the Impossibility, under the Negative expressly reserved to Great Britain by the Convention of Chaumont with respect to the disposal of the Territories on the left Bank of the Rhine, that I could consent, on the part of my Court to place a Prince so circumstanced and so dependent upon France, in the very Center of Our Line of Defence. That the obvious Policy in Military Prudence, was either to place there a great Military Power such as Prussia, or if that could not be, to bring forward some Secondary Power such as The Prince of Orange, the Mass of whose Dominions being interwoven in another System, became a Pledge, especially when supported by Russia en seconde Ligne, for the faithful Maintenance of these Possessions against France; but that to create a feeble and discontented State there, was to pave the Way for a future Cession of those Territories to France, in consideration of the Re-conquest of Saxony for the Family. I urged that the Policy of Austria was necessarily so much in favour of Saxony being independent of Prussia—that such a Scheme very possibly would be either supported or acquiesced in by her, and could only be successfully opposed by His Imperial Majesty sending a powerful Army at a vast expence into the Heart of Germany. . . .

After this Subject was disposed of, the Emperor went to other Matters, and rather to my Surprize, referred to Reports that had reached Him of an Alliance between Austria, France, Bavaria and Great Britain. Not feeling myself authorized to avow the Treaty, and not choosing to hold a Language of too much Disguise, I assured His Imperial Majesty that acting upon the pacifick principles which he had avowed in the early part of Our Conversation, He had nothing to fear from those Powers: That as His Imperial Majesty had condescended to speak to me without reserve, I would frankly avow to him, that the Language lately held by Prince Hardenberg in a formal

Conference in the name of both Courts, and not disavowed by His Imperial Majesty's Minister then present, had seriously, and I thought justly, alarmed the Powers alluded to. It was evident The Emperor was not unacquainted with the Declaration in question, from the Manner in which He endeavoured to soften it down. I expressed my Satisfaction that the Principle was not adhered to, as I could not conceal from His Imperial Majesty, that I would have imposed upon those Powers, and I thought upon all others who valued their Independence, the necessity of giving it the most determined Resistance.

Having got upon this Warlike Ground, I thought it the more material to convince The Emperor, by giving another direction to the Conversation, that it was to an early and amicable Adjustment of the Subjects in discussion that all my thoughts and efforts were directed. I happened to have with me the Documents which I had prepared, to shew how Prussia could be reconstructed without incorporating the whole of Saxony. His Imperial Majesty went with much Interest into this Question, was anxious to know whether France would consent to such an Arrangement, and whether Great Britain would support it, if necessary against her. The Emperor said that he should be satisfied with it if Prussia was.

His Imperial Majesty repeatedly asked me, whether I thought France really desired Peace. I expressed my Conviction That the King and His Ministers sincerely did, but that as certainly, if a War Broke out, that they would take a part. In this The Emperor agreed, and deprecated the Risk. I then urged the immense advantage to be derived from prevailing upon Prussia to listen to such an Arrangement as all the five great Powers could support, which I looked upon as within Our Reach, if Prussia was reasonable and if Prince Talleyrand was treated with the Consideration to which, as the Representative of so great a Power, he was entitled. . . .

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL (No. 57), JANUARY 22, 1815.
'F.O. CONTINENT,' 101[1]

. . . I certainly was prepared when I signed the Treaty of Defensive Alliance on the 3rd, to expect, that this Measure of Strength and Union might, if improperly understood, excite in the Austrian Councils a disposition to enterprize anew upon

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, ii. 880.

objects of local Policy, instead of turning it as was intended by me into the Means of extricating herself with honour and safety, from the difficulty in which the Menace of Her Opponents had placed her. I was not however deterred by this Consideration from adopting what appeared to me indispensable to check the Intemperance of the Two Northern Powers at a critical Moment of the Negotiation, whilst I reserved in my own hands the Means of effectually correcting at a future period any misconception of this nature should it arise.

The inclosed official Memoir presented To The Emperor by Marshall Prince Schwartzenberg, the Minister at War, will shew that I was not mistaken in this Supposition. I have reason to believe that similar Views prevail amongst other Members of the Austrian Cabinet, particularly Count Stadion, and I have lately observed Prince Metternich's Tone and Language to be proportionately changed, indicating a disposition to aim at Objects which before he had considered as unattainable.

Having examined this Paper attentively, I thought there was no time to be lost in having a full Explanation with Prince Metternich, both upon it's Contents, and the Attitude in which I felt myself placed under Our recent Treaty and the existing State of the Negotiations.

I represented to His Highness that I considered the Principles therein laid down as not sound in themselves, whilst they were calculated to throw us back in Our Discussions and to retard, if not defeat, our hopes of an amicable Settlement.

That admitting the facts alledged, namely, that the Eastern Frontier of Germany was menaced by Russia, and that it's Western Frontier would be endangered, if The King of Saxony was placed on the left Bank of the Rhine, it did not therefore follow, that the Security of Austria depended upon depriving Prussia of Torgau and Erfurt. . . .

That Saxony in it's natural Politicks appertained to the System of the North, preserving however an independent Existence to a certain Extent between it's two powerful Neighbours. To endeavour to combine it with the Austrian System and to take Torgau and Erfurth as advanced and menacing Points, appeared to me the surest Means of permanently uniting Prussia in close Alliance with either Russia or France, and rendering her Return to German connection hopeless, which I could by no means consider to be now the case, however established the Influence of Russia might, for the Moment, appear to be.

That in looking to the defence of Prussia against France, the line of the Elbe was imperfect, if Torgau was denied to that Power, and that with respect to Erfurth, whilst the Prussian Monarchy was spread out from the Niemen to the Rhine, and broke into two Masses but slenderly connected in the Center, such a Fortress as Erfurth was essential to cover her extended Line of Communication, and to afford a Point of Appui between Juliers beyond the Rhine, and the Line of the Elbe.

I added that both these Fortresses appeared to me indispensible to give to Prussia under the new Territorial Arrangement to which we required her to submit, an Independent Existence, and if such an Existence was not secured to her, she would always be driven to seek that Independence in a distant and dangerous Support, which she might otherwise be desirous of finding in the System to which she belonged.

I hope these Representations will have the effect of bringing back Our Views to their true Standard, namely to make an Arrangement which, by sufficiently saving the honor and interest of all the principal Powers, may admit of it's receiving a general Sanction, and that we should make the best bargain we can for The King of Saxony, placing him in his own States where he may do some good and no harm instead of breaking down our whole System of Defence on the left Bank of the Rhine by placing him there.

I fully explained to Prince Metternich that, having saved the general Principle, and protected His Court by a decided measure of Support, when Austria was menaced with Invasion, if she refused to acknowledge, a New King in Saxony and to transplant his Predecessor to a Position the most fatal to our whole System, that I could not suffer my Government to be involved in hostile Measures upon a mere question of Details, to which I now considered in fact the Issue was brought; and that if he expected my Support, he must not negotiate upon the Principles laid down in Prince Schwartzenberg's Memoir,—to which I should feel it my Duty to object. . . .

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 63), January 29, 1815. 'F.O. Continent,' 11 [1]

Having reason to believe, that the Party in the Austrian Cabinet who adhere to Prince Schwartzenberg's Views, were

[1] *Cf.* Oncken, ii. 882.

employed in urging their Opinions, strongly upon The Emperor, I availed myself of a Confidential Channel, to intimate to Prince Metternich that, unless the Negotiation was replaced without delay upon the only Grounds that I thought were calculated to lead to Peace, and such as were consistent with the principles upon which the late Treaty had been brought forward on the part of Great Britain, I should feel it my Duty to present a Note explicitly disavowing all Concert in these new Measures, and taking my Court out of the Predicament of either being charged with a Breach of Engagement, or of being insensibly involved in a System to which I must decline to be any Party. I desired that it might be also understood, that, in that case, I should request an Audience to explain myself to The Emperor.

I received from Prince Metternich that Evening an Intimation that His Imperial Majesty desired to see me on the following day. I found him extremely *monté* upon the military Question, and his general Tone more warlike than on any former occasion. His Imperial Majesty received, with his usual Condescension, however, my representations of the advantage of exhausting every Expedient to preserve Peace, and, if we failed, the indispensible Necessity, if he looked for support from Great Britain, that the occasion of War should either be founded upon the maintenance of some Principle of clear and indisputable Importance, or an actual Attempt by force to disturb the Equilibrium of Europe.

The Emperor repeatedly pressed to know whether Great Britain would support Him, 1st in refusing Torgau and Erfurth to Prussia—2ndly, in requiring that the former at least should be razed. . . .

For the Reasons already stated, I felt myself obliged humbly, but most expressly to reply to His Majesty in the Negative on both his Demands.

The following Day in an Interview with Prince Talleyrand, Prince Metternich renewed his Endeavours to urge the same View of the Question, and stated that The Emperor adhered to his Opinion. Prince Talleyrand agreed with the Austrian Minister, but stated his Sentiments with Moderation. I adhered to mine and the Interview ended by the Austrian Minister declaring his Intention of taking the final Orders of The Emperor.

There was a good deal of rather warm discussion upon the Impossibility of conceding largely to Prussia in Saxony. Prince

Metternich's Projêt did not go to one third of the whole Contents. I stated that it was a little hard the British Minister, who had no other possible Interest in the Question than to save the Continental Powers and especially Austria from War, should have the odious task thrown upon him of urging severe Measures towards Saxony, but that whilst I would do my best to save the Saxon Family from unnecessary Rigour, I would not sacrifice the Peace of Europe to preserve to them two or three hundred thousand Subjects more or less.

We then discussed the Counter Projêt to be given in—and I agreed, in consequence of The Emperor of Austria having rendered his Polish Acquisitions on the Side of Ternapole an object of Negotiation, to frame *Our first* Proposition on a Scale more favourable to Saxony, but I declared that I could not be a Party to any Counter Projêt, which did not assign the Fortresses of Torgau and Erfurth to Prussia.

The following Morning Prince Metternich acquainted me, that notwithstanding the military Advice The Emperor had received, His Imperial Majesty was ready to acquiesce in both Torgau and Erfurth being Prussian, if the British Minister pronounced it necessary, to effect an amicable and honourable Arrangement; but that he expected Prussia to be proportionally moderate and conciliatory on other Points, and especially not to press the Session of Leipsick. Upon this the Counter Projêt I now inclose, extending to a certain degree the Cessions in Saxony beyond the Austrian Projêt, was agreed upon between Prince Metternich, Prince Talleyrand and myself, with the reserve, on my Part, of it's only being considered as a Proposition for Discussion, and not as an Ultimatum. In all these Deliberations the French Minister took I think a fair and not an unreasonable part. The Day but one after was fixed for Our Conference with the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries, to deliver in the Counter Projêt, and I undertook, in the mean time, to see The Emperor of Russia and Prince Hardenberg, and to prepare them for it's favourable Reception.

My Interview with Prince Hardenberg took place first. I begged him not to give me any opinion, but to hear calmly what I had to represent, and to reflect upon it. I stated the Principles upon which the Counter Projêt was framed, both as to Numbers, Composition, and Locality, and endeavoured to remove the Objections to which I thought the Prussian Minister was likely to deem it liable.

In representing to His Highness the strong military Grounds of resistance that had been given to Prussia having Torgau and Erfurth, and the mode in which the Emperor's Opposition had been waved, I told the Prince that strongly as I had opposed myself in support of what I deemed to be just and essential for Prussia to possess in a Military Point of View, I would oppose myself with equal Energy to any Attempt on the part of his Government to render the Saxon Arrangement either unnecessarily severe or painful in It's Detail, to the Powers who were expected to acquiesce in it, and that I must specially protest against Leipsick being torn from Saxony.

Prince Hardenberg warmly resisted the Idea of parting with *this Trophy*. That Prussia ought to have at least one of the Saxon Capitals, and that he could not return to Berlin under such a mortification. I contended that one of the Capitals was precisely what Prussia in sound Policy ought not to desire to possess: That it was her Interest not to strive to create two Saxonies; If she did one would be always Austrian and opposed to the other; that, on the contrary the Prussian Object should be to render all her Acquisitions as Prussian as possible—to give every possible Unity to the State which was to remain, and to treat it with kindness, by which means a little sooner or a little later it must adhere to Prussia, and she would then have the Benefit of both.

That Prussia would defeat her own purpose, if She pushed her Demands upon Saxony too far; She might lose the Appui of some of the great Powers—delay if not prevent the King of Saxony's Acceptance, and drive the Saxon Nation into a permanent Feeling of Hostility against Her.

That the Sentiments of Berlin were less material than those of Great Britain, France, Austria and Germany and that if The British Government had listened to a popular Sentiment instead of to Considerations of Moderation and Prudence, we still should have been at War with America, in pursuit of an Object not essential to Our honour, and too dearly purchased, even if accomplished, by a protracted War.

On the same Evening I was admitted to an Audience of The Emperor of Russia, and presented the Outline of the intended Arrangement, in the light which I thought would best serve to interest him in it's favour. Although I begged to be understood as not asking for an opinion till the Plan was regularly before him, together with His Prussian Majesty's Sentiments, it was

impossible not to perceive that The Emperor received it favourably, and wished Prussia might listen to it.

I represented that much would depend on His Imperial Majesty, whose Sentiments without Indelicacy to Prussia on a point which principally concerned her Interest, could not but have the greatest weight, and that if His Imperial Majesty could so manage as to transfer a Portion of the Austrian Acquisitions in Poland, to Prussia, I did not see how the King could refuse the Proposal.

The Emperor repeated to me the Difficulties in which his promises to the Poles had placed him with respect to any further Cessions in the Dutchy of Warsaw. He said that to Him as Sovereign, it would be a matter of perfect indifference to make the Exchange proposed, but that his Hands were tied. I urged that the Poles might be reconciled by a corresponding Extension on the other Side of the Vistula joining the Dutchy, and that with this facility His Imperial Majesty had the fate of the Arrangement in his Hands.

It is due to The Emperor to state, that he shewed every Disposition consistent with the Delicacy he feels due to Prussia, and to his Polish Entanglements, which already begin to manifest themselves, as I understand, at Warsaw, to meet my Wishes. He was particularly gracious in his Reception of me, and will, I have no doubt encourage and not obstruct an Arrangement.

The Intelligence I have received privately of the Reception of the Contre Projêt by the Prussian Cabinet is not unfavourable. Prince Hardenberg has intimated to me, that the King proposes to see me upon it before he gives an Answer.

Castlereagh to Liverpool (No. 66), February 6, 1815. 'F.O. Continent,' 11

. . . Immediately after the Presentation of the Counter Projêt, I had an Interview with Prince Hardenberg, with a view of apprizing him of the Points, which I did not consider as admitting of any modification, viz. Leipsick and the re-entering Angle into Bohemia by Bautzen and Zittau.

I was directed to attend The King of Prussia on the following day, and I had with His Majesty an Audience of an hour and an half, the most painful in all respects, that it has been my fate to undergo since I have been upon the Continent. It is inconceiveable to what a Degree His Majesty had been worked upon

on the point of Leipsick, the false importance he attached to it, and the deep disappointment, if not resentment, with which he spoke of Our espousing the Cause of the King of Saxony against him. I found it difficult to attract his Attention to the obvious Embarrassments in which the Line His Majesty was disposed to pursue towards Saxony would place him, and I did not escape without some severe personal Reproaches for the Representations I presumed to make. However my duty was to discourage the King from any false move, which might compromise us all, and as I wished to execute this without reserve, my Audience terminated as unpleasantly as it had begun.

The following Morning I thought it right to see the Emperor of Russia, to apprize him of the Temper in which I had found The King of Prussia, and to beg His Imperial Majesty's Assistance in calming it. The Emperor was very reasonable, and promised to do what in delicacy he could, and as some Means of assisting the Negotiation, he placed Thorn and it's Rayon at my Disposal, to make such use of with Prussia as I might think fit.

Thorn being a Position on the Vistula to which Prussia had always attached considerable importance, I lost no time in communicating to Prince Hardenberg The Emperor's Intentions. The following day he told me that with the aid of Thorn, he had overcome The King's Reluctance to leave Leipsick with Saxony.

In the Evening he communicated to me the Conditions attached by the King to this Concession, which contained such a severe Infliction upon Saxony territorially, that I was obliged to declare to him my utter despair of bringing either the Austrians or Prince Talleyrand to listen to it ; that The King would not venture to accept his Country under the fermentation it would occasion, and that we should all, and especially Prussia, be plunged in Difficulties.

Prince Hardenberg requested me to make the same Confidential Communication of his intended Projêt to Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand, which he had received from them. I undertook to do so, but under a declaration of the Reception I was sure it would meet with.

I did so the following day, but requested before they took any Steps upon it, they would allow me to see the Prussian Minister again, and to try whether I could induce him to relax, in some measure, upon Saxony, by offering him a liberal Compensation in some other Quarter. In this state of things I

felt it necessary, and I conceived it would be approved by The Prince Regent, that some Sacrifice should be made of Interests directly or indirectly appertaining to His Royal Highness, from the difficulty of finding by any other Means adequate resource. After conferring with Count Munster, I proposed to reduce in the amount of fifty thousand, the Claims of Hanover under Treaty, and to add a Sacrifice of equal Amount, to those already made on the part of Holland. Uniting these with the slender Means otherwise available, a fund was created which might operate a salutary Reduction in favour of Saxony.

I prepared upon this principle a New Projêt of Arrangement which I submitted confidentially to both Parties. When I first carried it to Prince Hardenberg, I found him again inflamed upon the point of Leipsick, and desirous of making it at least a free Town. I represented that, in this State it would only prove a focus of Discontent, and probably, render the general Arrangement equally embarrassing to Prussia and Saxony. It is certain that many of the Prussian Officers, and the *Friends of Liberty* as they are called, who abound in The King's Dominions, were indignant at losing Saxony, where a new Constitution was to be set in motion; and it was evident a Struggle was still making, which became formidable in proportion as it might from The Tone of His Majesty, and many of his most distinguished Officers assume the Character of a Military and National Sentiment.

After some Effervescence, Prince Hardenberg received my Proposition with Calmness, and examined the details with Attention. The proposed Sacrifice on the part of The Prince Regent allayed his Impressions, that I was sustaining the Interests of The King of Saxony instead of trying to procure an Arrangement practicable and reasonable in itself with respect to his Territory.

This Morning he gave me his Answer, accepting with insignificant Modifications the Plan laid before him. I afterwards had a Conference with Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand. The former accepted the Arrangement without Hesitation; the latter, in consequence of a recent letter from The King, pressing that the Sacrifices to be imposed on Saxony might not go so far, had more difficulty. His Highness however very honourably considered it his Duty not to separate on this occasion from the two other Powers, his own opinion being, that every prudent Effort and every becoming Sacrifice had been made to fulfill the

Wishes of his Court, and Prince Talleyrand stated that he had no Inclination to withdraw from his fair Share of the Responsibility. He therefore fully acceded to the Measure proposed, which will to-morrow be submitted to the Approbation of His Prussian Majesty. . . .

I hope, under all the Circumstances of this difficult Transaction, The Prince Regent will not disapprove the part I have taken. His Royal Highness will personally have the Satisfaction of having contributed to the Settlement of a Question which has now for a length of time continued to threaten the Peace of Europe, and, in doing so, His Royal Highness's best Interests will I trust have been consulted. . . .

CASTLEREAGH'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONFERENCES AT VIENNA, 1822.[1]

By J. E. S. GREEN, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read December 19, 1912

No one in these days will be disposed to deny that Castlereagh has not invariably encountered that fair play at the hands of historians to which a long record of devoted service should entitle him. It is the purpose of the present paper to contribute a discussion upon the original instructions drawn up for the use of the British minister at the meeting of the Allies in 1822, in so far as these instructions bear on the relations between France and Spain; to show that an examination of the premises upon which the conclusions drawn from those instructions are based must render those conclusions fallacious; and to exhibit this view in connexion with certain events.

The view which at present obtains is this: that on the eve of the Congress the British Government was unaware that Spanish affairs were about to form the main or even an important topic of discussion; and this supposition carries with it the inevitable corollary that the blame for this state of affairs is attaching to Castlereagh. Now I dispute this view, for, so far as my inquiries go, the evidence for it reposes ultimately upon the parliamentary speeches delivered during the debates on these transactions in the month of April 1823. We cannot take our history out of 'Hansard.' Parliamentary speeches, however brilliant, are

[1] In every case throughout this article the italics are the writer's unless notice is given to the contrary.

merely *ex parte* statements; and they are nothing more. It is obvious that if we would attempt to ascertain the truth we must first of all go behind the parliamentary debates, and examine the papers upon which they rest.

The student of public records can have but few illusions. It is his trade to suspect everybody, and to expect anything. And if we examine these papers, we shall make a startling discovery. That discovery is this: that the suggestion which I am about to combat was a suggestion which, so it would seem, was carefully and designedly put into circulation by Canning, in order to deceive Parliament, and incidentally the country, by placing the responsibility for the collapse of British diplomacy at Verona upon the shoulders of his former rival. For an examination of these papers will reveal the total absence of Castlereagh's instructions from the original papers, the omission of half of them from the additional papers, and the reason for that omission.

Now, in considering this matter, we must be careful not to confuse the original papers presented to the two Houses with the additional papers which were presented eight days later. And first of all must we notice two things which have to do with the placing of these papers before Parliament. In accordance with the traditions of parliamentary practice in this country, there should have been no papers at all. It was contrary to the habitual practice of Parliament to lay papers upon the tables of the House, 'on which the Government did not intend to call for some proceeding.' In other words, the intention underlying the presentation of papers dealing with foreign affairs is to explain and defend a declaration of war. The reason why, in this particular case, the ministry thought proper to depart from the normal course is clear. It was due to the passion and heat which had been engendered in the country ever since it had become known that France was seriously intending an invasion of Spain, a passion which had bubbled to fever point on the perusal of Louis XVIII's speech at the opening of the French Chambers, and which found vent in both our

Houses of Parliament in the debate on the King's speech at the opening of the session. And this brings me to my second point; and here we touch upon party politics. If the Government was obliged to compromise with the Opposition, it had no intention of surrender. Papers indeed were to be presented to Parliament, accompanied by a ministerial declaration, but these papers were to be presented in such a way as to prohibit any proper discussion of their contents. The Government would exhibit themselves, as the old rhyme says, four times armed in getting their blow in first. Their statement would be trumpeted forth to the world as a full explanation of the conduct that had been pursued by the English ministry at Verona, while the Opposition reply would be lame and crippled in comparison, owing to no opportunity whatever having been afforded its members of becoming previously acquainted with the contents of these papers. Of course I do not mean to allege that all this was openly avowed, but we have more than enough evidence which would lead us to suppose that it was what was actually thought. On the other hand, Lord Liverpool was very careful to explain to Lord Lansdown, when the latter asked him to lay papers on the table previous to the recess, so as to afford ample opportunity for individuals to form an opinion on them before proceeding to debate, that it was 'not on account of any personal inconvenience,' but on 'public grounds,' that it was impossible for him to accede to this request.[1] The public grounds here alluded to, of course, were the possibility which might yet remain of averting a war between France and Spain. And it might be argued with considerable force that any premature publication of correspondence serving to inflame English public opinion against France would have rendered war unavoidable, having regard to the high-strung susceptibility displayed in all its foreign relations by the French party then in power. This is all very well, and we might be disposed

[1] *The Times*, March 20, 1823.

to attach some importance to it, were it not clear from a careful study of the documents that no such hope ever existed.[1] Liverpool made his statement on March 19. Only the day previously the English Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on the eve of a war, the ultimate consequences of which no one could possibly foresee, and with all the weight of his office, had replied to Sir James McIntosh, asking for papers dealing with Spain, that

'he should deceive his honourable and learned friend and the House were he now to state that he clung to any rational hope of averting a war between France and Spain. Indeed, it was incumbent upon him to admit that the hope of averting this calamity, which his Majesty's Government had previously cherished, was, if not totally extinguished, at least very remote, and receding fast from their view.'[2]

In the mouth of a Foreign Minister, this is strong language indeed.

Canning went on to say that, 'on as early a day as his personal convenience possibly admitted, it was his intention to place upon the table of the House the papers which related to the subject.' This statement was interpreted by a leader in *The Times* of next morning to mean 'as early a day as his health should permit.' This was a blunder. Canning, as we know, never had 'the slightest thoughts of laying papers till after the holidays.'[3] But the mere rumour was sufficient to awake anxiety in Wellington, who could not have been anticipating with any vast amount of pleasure a debate on transactions in which he had played so curious

[1] See *P.R.O. France*, 288, Stuart's dispatches from Paris, especially that of March 13, received in London on the 16th. Chateaubriand is there said to have told him on the morning of March 13 'that all his endeavours to prevent a rupture having failed, the army will cross the frontier in the beginning of April,' as actually happened.

See also *P.R.O. Spain*, 270, A'Court to Canning, March 2, received 13th: 'I fear we may now consider a war as inevitable.'

[2] *The Times*, March 19, 1823.

[3] *Wellington Disp.* ii. 72, Canning's letter to Wellington of March 20, 1823.

a part.[1] Again, the papers were laid upon the tables of Parliament on April 14. On the 7th the French army crossed the Bidassoa and entered Spain. About that very day, according to my computation, the parliamentary papers must have been ready. If the papers were held back merely with the view of omitting nothing likely to impair the chances of peace, that excuse no longer serves when war had begun. Parliament reassembled on the 10th. Canning's promised statement was made on the 14th. No one among the opposition would have been disposed to complain had this statement been postponed for a few days, so that he might be the better equipped for a proper understanding of it. The papers form a brochure of sixty folio pages,[2] and were not placed upon the tables of Parliament until the debates on them had begun. Lord Grey renewed on April 14 the complaint which he had previously uttered on March 26;[3] Brougham complained on behalf of the Commons,[4] and a leader in *The Times* on behalf of the public.[5] In the long run, all this mattered little, for in either House a motion of censure was eventually moved. But we are bound to inquire why it was done at all. And the answer would seem to be this:—It was the original intention of the Government to stifle all free and open discussion of these papers. It was part and parcel of a premeditated plan by which the discussions upon them were to be reduced to the smallest possible limits. And this plan was dictated by the consciousness under which the Government lay of the real weakness of their case.

Now, not only do these papers contain no reference to Castlereagh's instructions at all, but Canning made no allusion to them in the course of his speech. They open with

[1] I forbear to enter here upon any discussion as to Wellington's conduct at Verona, because that would require a paper of its own. Meantime I may draw the attention of the curious to Acton's *Historical Essays and Studies*, p. 476.

[2] British Museum Treaties, xix., *Parliamentary Papers*, 1823.

[3] *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 869 and 706.

[4] *Ibid.* 897.

[5] *The Times*, April 16, 1823.

an extract from Wellington's dispatch of September 21, written from Paris, in which the Duke, after giving an epitome of his conversations with Villèle, and making it quite clear that the French were preparing for war, asks for instructions.

'I should wish to receive his Majesty's instructions what line I shall take, and what arguments I shall use, in case the French Government should make the proposition at the Congress, which M. de Villèle has made to me, respecting a declaration by the allies.' [1]

No. 2 contains his Majesty's instructions, which are as follows :—

'If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, and so utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) if the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace, at once frankly and peremptorily to declare that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party.'

In the course of his speech in presenting these papers to Parliament, Canning made the following illuminating and instructive comment :—

'He should perhaps surprise the House when he stated that in going to the Congress of Verona, it was not in contemplation that that question which turned out to be the most important topic agitated at that meeting—he meant the case of Spain—would be the immediate object of that assembly. So much so that the House would find, among the papers now submitted, that the very first number, being a dispatch from the Duke of Wellington on his arrival at Paris, showed that his Grace had been under the necessity of asking for instructions respecting the case of Spain.' [2]

If we try to place ourselves in the position of a House of Commons' man in 1823, we shall find that he could

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, No. 1. [2] Canning, April 14.

possess but a very slender knowledge of what had occurred at Verona, and of the antecedents to Verona. This was due no doubt in part to an ill-informed press, and in part to the elaborate precautions which were taken both to ensure secrecy and to exclude the visits of strangers to that town. All the information of value he possessed must have been derived from the debates in the French Chambers and from our own Parliamentary papers, and incidentally I may mention here that had it not been for Chateaubriand's indiscretion he would never have known anything at all of Wellington's protest of October 30.[1] The one and inevitable conclusion to which he must come after a perusal of the papers at his disposal, and after listening to the arguments used by Liverpool in the Lords and by Canning in the Commons, was the conclusion to which the British Government would seem to have been anxious that he should come, namely, that on the question of Spain the Government had been caught asleep. If this was the impression which he wished to convey, Canning no doubt is deserving of a qualified admiration for the way in which he contrived to deceive contemporaries who could not have known better and historians who should. For this impression became so strong at the time that it even survived the publication of a portion of Castlereagh's instructions on this matter. Let me take two instances, one from either House.

On April 24, 1823, Lord Ellenborough moved a lengthy motion of censure on the Government. In the course of his speech he said :—

'Coming now to the late negotiation, *about the 24th of September*, the noble duke opposite had learned that the affairs of Spain were to be made a prominent topic of deliberation at the Congress.' [2]

Let me take the case of Hobhouse in the Commons. The author of the phrase 'his Majesty's opposition' happened to be the sitting member for Westminster at this time.

[1] See *Wellington Disp.* ii. pp. 72, 74, 87. [2] *Hansard*, N.S., 1179.

He had also happened to have been travelling in Italy at the time when the Congress met. This is what he said from his place in Parliament :—

'*But it was now asked, how any could suppose that Spain would afterwards become the object of the discussions at Verona?* He knew not whether so insignificant a fact was worth mentioning, but he himself happened to be in Verona at the time of the sitting of the Congress, and he could undertake to say that no man in Italy, that no man even in the South of Europe, of any intelligence, ever supposed at that time that Italy was really to be the subject of discussion. . . . But everybody in Verona knew perfectly well that the deliberations of the Congress assembled there regarded Spain.'[1]

Hobhouse is quite right. He is a very poor student of foreign politics who believes that the ostensible causes for any given event are necessarily the real causes. As Grey put it pointedly enough to Liverpool, 'he was assured that the noble earl would not argue that this was not a "special" congress as regarded Spain, because it was held for the affairs of Italy or for Turkey.'[2] It is interesting to notice that Montmorency, subsequent to the Congress, was charged with beingin precisely the same state of ignorance

[1] *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 1343. Perhaps Hobhouse states more accurately in his diary that he 'went to Venice and had a look at the Congress of Verona' (*Recollections of a Long Life*,' iii. 9. London, 1910). It cannot have been much more than 'a look,' as he would not have been allowed to stay there. I am unable to decipher Verona on his passport(*British Museum MSS.* 36459). Sir Robert Wilson was in Paris in September 1822, and he foresaw that war was inevitable if the ultra party in France remained in power. (See his correspondence with Lord Grey, *British Museum Add. MSS.* 30124.)

[2] *Ibid.* vol. viii. 1061. There is an interesting dispatch to be found in the Embassy Archives of Madrid. Writing to Bathurst on September 10, 1822, A'Court relates the substance of a conversation he has had with San Miguel, the Spanish Foreign Minister, who was very disquieted about the Conferences to be held at Vienna. A'Court says : 'I explained to his Excellency that I had no official notice of the holding of a Congress for the purpose of discussing the affairs of Spain.' It is not difficult to appreciate the full force of his meaning.

as has been imputed to Wellington.[1] We know of the scorn he displayed in rebutting this supposition.

Now, before passing from the original papers to the additional, there are several points which require consideration. First of all, it was Canning himself who drew the attention of Parliament to the two papers which I have cited. He expressly informed the House that it was only in reference to this and to one other incident that he would 'refer to the papers' which he was about to lay upon the table. Our breath is fairly taken away with the astonishing audacity of his suggestion. For, even if it can be shown that he was in good faith in resting his case on the necessity under which Wellington lay of writing home for instructions, how can it be said that he was in a position to know what was in Castlereagh's mind? That mind was exceedingly difficult to know, and even if it had not been, the last person to have known it would have been George Canning. No competent student of this period will hold the view that it was Castlereagh's habit to gossip with his under-secretaries, subordinates and political rivals on the nicest points of international diplomacy. Caution and secrecy were prominent traits in his character. Where he could safely do so that minister invariably preferred oral to written instructions. Those who knew him best have assured us how

[1] Nettement, *Histoire de la Restauration*, tome vi. 291, footnote. Of course there are many proofs in the French archives of the intentions of the Powers in respect to Spain. I will but furnish one. It is the précis of a conversation between Laferronnays, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, and the Czar, held on August 14, 1822. A report of this conversation was immediately transmitted to Paris. Alexander is declared to have said: 'Quant à la question d'Espagne, mon cher ambassadeur, elle est d'une nature plus grave encore peut-être et plus alarmante [than Greece]. C'est sur elle surtout qu'il est d'une haute importance que nous soyons tous d'accord, et que l'action soit commune. Ce n'est donc qu'au Congrès, lorsque nous serons tous réunis, que nous pourrons tous nous communiquer nos idées, qu'il sera possible de juger s'il est moyen d'être utile au Roi d'Espagne sans le compromettre.' (Russie 164, Arch. Paris.) It is significant that the French instructions in regard to Spain, and Spain only, were drawn up in the handwriting of Villèle. (Vérone 721, Arch. Paris.)

little he was prone to put his thoughts into writing. Now the instructions, or, to make no confusion in terminology, '*the heads of instructions*,' were originally drawn up by *Castlereagh* for *Castlereagh*.[1] That is the important point. He drew them up for his own use and guidance, and not for the use and guidance of anyone else. Wellington took his place as English minister to the Congress only when Castlereagh's life had drawn to its pathetic and sudden close. But this is not all. For a month after his death the Foreign Office was without a chief, and for a month during this critical period the control of foreign affairs was in the hands of Lord Bathurst. Had Canning succeeded to Castlereagh's inheritance immediately on his death, we might be disposed to attach more importance to his statements. But when we reflect that for the space of twelve years he had been entirely removed from the inner ring of foreign affairs, and that he was only recalled to the Foreign Office on the eve of a gilded and splendid banishment, his claim to interpret the secret thoughts of his political rival, who for ten unbroken years had conducted the foreign policy of this country, is sheer nonsense. As we shall very shortly see, an examination of the instructions themselves contains the best possible refutation to any argument of this description.

But surely, it will be said, Wellington at all events, in his capacity as representative of Great Britain to the Congress, would have known upon what subjects the Powers proposed to treat. This objection has force, and for two reasons. In the first place, because he was a close and intimate friend of Castlereagh, and in the second place because at the end of that career he was chosen to fill his place at the Congress. The answer is, we have no evidence he did not, and a good deal of evidence that he did. Without anticipating all the evidence, I may here point out that in neither of the two speeches (as they have come

[1] *Wellington Disp.* i. 284, Bathurst to Wellington, September 14, 1822.

down to us[1]) which he delivered on the subject of these negotiations, did Wellington put forward this extraordinary defence. He was the man who most probably of all others knew the truth; and he was dumb.

And this brings me to a further criticism, which is perhaps the most important. It is this. The passage in which Wellington is described as asking for instructions is given in a mutilated form. If we turn from the Parliamentary papers to the text of the original dispatch, we shall discover that the Parliamentary papers have omitted an important qualifying phrase. To be precise, Wellington did not say, 'I should wish to receive his Majesty's instructions.' He did say '*Upon the whole*, I should wish to receive his Majesty's instructions.'[2] Now here we are face to face with a distinction which is no barren one. It is vital. Its admission imports into the whole of this controversy the very suggestion which Canning was desirous of avoiding. For not only is this sentence complete in its context capable of quite another construction than that which has been put upon it, but, if the truth is to be told, it is incapable of bearing the meaning assigned to it, without doing it a violence. For no one will seriously maintain that, unqualified as he knew himself to be and as his friends knew him to be, for the delicate task of carrying on negotiations,[3] and after realising to the full, as his dispatch proves, the extreme gravity of the situation, Wellington would have written that 'upon the whole' he should wish to receive his Majesty's instructions on a matter about which he could know but little, and without intending to imply that it was for further instructions that he was asking. The

[1] See *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 1070 and 1222–7, and *Wellington's Speeches*, London, 1854.

[2] *P.R.O. Continent*, 48; Wellington's dispatch of September 21.

[3] C. D. Yonge, *Life of Lord Liverpool*, iii. 196; Gleig, *Life of Wellington*, p. 421. *The Times* deprecated his being sent to Vienna in 1822 on the ground that his professional prejudices and tendencies leant towards despotism. Alava hit the nail on the head when he said that Wellington 'ought never to have had anything to do with politics.'

suggestion contained in the parliamentary papers and the Government speeches is that he was asking for original instructions. It was not the case. Happily this at any rate is no matter of opinion, for Castlereagh's instructions were very precise on the subject of Spain, and these instructions were at this time deliberately kept back from the knowledge of Parliament.

To what, then, is to be attributed the inclusion of a part of Castlereagh's instructions among the additional papers; and first of all to what is it due that there were any additional papers at all? One thing is clear. It was not intended originally to publish any further correspondence. 'All that can be produced are now produced,' said Liverpool on April 14,[1] and yet eight days later there was a fresh batch. I think we may say with some confidence that Liverpool himself was the cause of the publication of several of them, and yet more particularly the cause of the publication of that paper which throws light upon the subject of our discussion. It is difficult to find a reason why the whole mass of papers should not have been printed together. For it is scarcely credible that what it was good for Parliament to know on April 22 it would have been mischievous for them to have known on April 14. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that Canning underestimated the feeling of the Opposition on this question, and made a mistake in supposing that men like Grey and Ellenborough, or Brougham, McIntosh and Hobhouse, were to be put off by a single day's discussion on papers which no one had yet had an opportunity of reading. On the other hand, as early as March 26,[2] Liverpool had expressed his readiness to furnish additional information in the event of his statement of April 14 being considered unsatisfactory; and in the course of his reply to that statement Lord Grey had said that further information would 'in all probability' be requisite.[3] Three days later Lord Holland moved for

[1] *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 840. [2] *Ibid.* 708. [3] *Ibid.* 871.

further papers;[1] and Lord Ellenborough expressed his intention of submitting a motion 'on that day week' 'which would afford their lordships an opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the conduct of ministers in the late negotiations.' On the following day Liverpool promised to lay additional papers before Parliament on Monday, April 21.[2]

Coming now to these papers, it is evident that no wholesale disclosures were in store. If we turn to the original papers, we shall see that they are divided into two classes, A and B; class A containing papers referring to Verona and Paris, and class B papers referring to Paris and Madrid. The additional papers are divided in a somewhat different fashion. They are cut into three sections, under the headings of France, Spain, and Portugal respectively. Under the first section, which includes the period of the Congress, there are only five additional papers. Inclusions and omissions are not accidental in matters of this kind. The papers were chosen with great care and deliberation. How much care and how much deliberation were expended on the publication of Castlereagh's instructions I shall have soon to show.

The papers which concern us are Nos. 1 and 2. The first is an abbreviated form of Castlereagh's famous State paper of May 1820; and the second is a mutilated form of his instructions for the Congress. The presence of this State paper was due to the repeated references which had been made to it in the course of debate. Liverpool, Wellington, and Canning alluded to it, and reference was made to it in Nos. 4 and 11, class A, of the original papers. About this document let me say that it lays down the principle of non-interference in the internal transactions of foreign states

[1] *Hansard*, N.S., 1070.

[2] *Hansard* states that the additional papers were laid before Parliament on April 21. Unless we can convict the entire Press of being in the wrong, it would seem that they were presented on the evening of the 22nd.

in the most definite and precise way, and further that it had been originally drawn up in reference to the very case of Spain and was a reply to the Russian circular note of March 1820. It is of more importance to explain the presence of Castlereagh's instructions. This would seem to be directly attributable to Liverpool. While Canning, in the course of his speech on April 14, had preserved a resolute silence as to the existence of any instructions at all, and indeed all his reasoning and the evidence pointed to the fact that previous to Wellington's arrival at Paris no such instructions had ever existed, Liverpool in a vague way had referred to 'general instructions' on this matter. Three days later he came in for some severe criticism from Lord Grey, and then the truth leaked out. Failing to obtain shelter behind the adjective 'prominent,' he was driven to admit that the 'instructions under which the noble duke went out' were the same as had been prepared 'for a late noble friend, and contained a distinct instruction on the subject' of Spain.[1] This was on April 17. The additional papers were presented five days later, and these papers contain the first paragraph of Castlereagh's instructions. Now, if we press analogy into our service, we may draw the legitimate inference that just as Chateaubriand's misquotation [2] of Wellington's protest of October 30 made the inclusion of that protest among the original papers inevitable, even though it had been withdrawn at the Congress, so Liverpool's admission that Castlereagh had bequeathed instructions in respect to Spain made necessary the publication of a part at any rate of those instructions among the additional papers, although it had been previously decided to abstain from doing so.

The collision between Liverpool's and Canning's statements did not escape the observation of the Radical press.

[1] *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 1060.

[2] Brougham had drawn the attention of the House to Chateaubriand's speech and put a question to Canning about it. Canning's reply was that Chateaubriand had mutilated the document, which is true.

It was in the columns of these papers, as Metternich observed, that 'the sharpest and most vigorous criticisms' were to be found. The *Morning Chronicle*, in a vein of happy irony, stated that 'the friends of the two statesmen must regret that more pains were not taken to secure the agreement either of Lord Liverpool's statement with Mr. Canning and the documents, or of Mr. Canning's statement and the documents with the speech of Lord Liverpool.' The thing, however, could not now be helped, and 'the best way to reconcile matters would be to show that the Duke of Wellington either forgot to take his instructions with him or forgot he had any, and thus came to write the letter from Paris, and that Mr. Canning, having a plain and unvarnished tale [1] to deliver, had deemed it his duty to frame his statement in rigid conformity with the documentary evidence without reference to his own recollections.' [2] The importance of this and other press criticisms lies in this, that the English ministry cannot claim to have been unaware of the effect which their version of the affair was producing on the public mind. And it is of importance to remember this in view of the full-dress debate, spread over three days, subsequently held on these transactions. What really puzzled the Opposition of the day was how it came that Canning contrived to have documentary evidence in support of his statement. A careful examination of Castlereagh's instructions solves the problem.

Parallel with the published passage of Castlereagh's instructions let me place extracts from Canning's speeches of April 14 and 30 :—

[1] That is Canning's description of his disingenuous speech. See his reply to Col. N. S. W. Davies in the House, April 10, *Hansard*, vol. viii. 801.

[2] *Morning Chronicle*, April 18, 1823; *cf.* also the leader in the same paper of the 19th. 'Was his Grace, a Cabinet Minister, seized at Verona with an opportune forgetfulness of the information respecting the cause of the civil war existing along the frontier, as he so opportunely forgot at Paris that he was sent to protest against interference in the affairs of Spain?' On the other hand, *The Morning Post* and *The New Times* seem to have acquiesced in Canning's version.

'With respect to Spain there seems nothing to add to or vary in the course of policy hitherto pursued. Solicitude for the safety of the royal family, observance of our engagements with Portugal, and a rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs of that country must be considered as forming the basis of his Majesty's policy.'

(*Add. Parl. Papers*, No. 2.)

'It was only on his arrival in Paris that the Duke of Wellington found that the affairs of Spain were likely to occupy a most important place in the deliberations of the Congress of Verona. He accordingly, as has been mentioned, applied to him (Mr. Canning) for specifick instructions on this point. . . . England went in the first instance with no expectation that a prominent part in the deliberations would belong to the affairs of Spain. . . . So far was the British Government from any expectation that a proposition of a nature hostile to Spain would be made by France, that there was every previous reason for believing that France would be the last Power from which it would come.'

(Canning, April 14th.)

'Undoubtedly it might be presumed, from facts which were of public notoriety, that the affairs of Spain could not altogether escape the notice of the assembled sovereigns and their ministers; but the bulk of the instructions which had been prepared for the Duke of Wellington related to the disputes between Russia and the Porte, and how little the British Government expected that so prominent a station would be assigned to the affairs of Spain may be inferred from the Duke of Wellington finding it necessary to write from Paris for specifick instructions on the subject.'

(Canning, April 30th.)

It is no matter for surprise that Metternich exclaims, in one of his private letters, that Europe 'shrugged its shoulders' while reading the Parliamentary debates.[1] For it will be seen at a glance that the whole strength of Canning's case reposes upon the fact that the Duke wrote home from Paris for instructions, and of the ignorance in which Parliament lay that Castlereagh's instructions did contain a 'specifick' instruction on the subject of Spain, obliging the English minister to break his journey at Paris. This will be clear at once, if without any further discourse I disclose the omitted paragraph.

'It is of great importance that the British plenipotentiary in his passage through Paris should have a full explanation with the French Government, and should endeavour to come to some distinct understanding with them, founded upon these principles, the arguments in favour of which are too well understood to require insertion in this instruction.'[2]

Now this passage, like the rest of Castlereagh's instructions, should have had a career before it, and yet that career was purposely cut short. The reason of the omission is obvious. I may hazard the conjecture that Canning did not seek to disguise from himself the failure of English diplomacy at the Congress, and was attempting by way of inference to provide the House of Commons with an intelligible explanation of that failure.[3] Wellington wrote from Paris for instructions. That is true; but it is no less true to say that it was the natural and proper inference to draw from the suppressed paragraph. For Wellington's position differed from Castlereagh's in this, that he was not Foreign Minister. In this instance Canning pressed truth so far that

[1] Metternich, *Mémoires*, t. iv. 7, 1881.

[2] For Castlereagh's instructions with regard to Spain see *Wellington Disp.* i. 286.

[3] Writing to Sir Henry Wellesley, September 16, 1823, Canning says: 'We protested at Laybach; we remonstrated at Verona. Our protests were treated as waste paper; our remonstrances mingled with the air. Pretty influence! and much worth preserving.' A. G. Stapleton, *George Canning and his Times*, p. 377.

it became falsehood. Had the second part of these instructions been known, the very suggestion which he was so sedulously careful to foster, and which derived its main support from the operation of this suppressed paragraph, must have vanished away like a dream. How could he then have declared that France was the 'last Power' from which a declaration hostile to Spain was likely to come, when so far was this from being the case that the British plenipotentiary was instructed that it was of 'great importance' '*to endeavour* to come to some distinct understanding' with the French Government on the principle of non-intervention? No critical assembly, still less a House of Commons' assembly, would have allowed itself to entertain for one moment so comforting a delusion as that which Canning prescribed, when before their very eyes they had so glaring a piece of evidence to the contrary. The argument from 'the bulk of the instructions' is one of the most frivolous which have been addressed by a responsible minister to a responsible assembly. It carries its own refutation with it. The arguments upon which Castlereagh's general principles in respect to Spain were founded were, as he said himself, 'too well understood to require insertion in this instruction.' And again I must insist that it was Castlereagh, and not Wellington, who was originally intended to represent Great Britain at the Congress. But in passing we cannot but raise an eyebrow at the figure cut by an English statesman purposely imputing blame by way of insinuation to his dead predecessor, and building up an argument on 'the bulk of the instructions' when to suit his own convenience he has deliberately reduced that bulk by one half, and that the more important half. It has been a misfortune for Castlereagh's reputation that use should have been made of his instructions and Wellington's conformity with them to build up two false hypotheses, first of the non-existence of any instructions at all, and, failing in that, by the suppression of one half and by the publication of the other to deny to them their proper value, and to

impute to their author a want of political foresight just at the very time when he sees most bright and clear.

Of the acuteness of Castlereagh's perception there can be no question. It has not been accorded due recognition hitherto, owing to wilful misrepresentation and an uncritical examination of texts. The error would seem to lie in an over-concentration on the first paragraph to the practical exclusion of the second. If we reverse the process, we shall be likely to obtain a much surer result. If we confine our attention to the second paragraph, two things will at once become apparent: that Castlereagh was aware that the Spanish Question was on the eve of solution, but was not aware in what precise way the French Government were prepared to solve it. The first deduction may very properly be inferred from the intention of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had been present at neither of the two preceding Congresses, to repair to Vienna. Moreover, whatever agreement was come to at the Congress, the ultimate decision lay at Paris, and already there were not wanting signs that France, chafing under the restrictions imposed on her, was moving away from the Alliance and was preparing the way for a national policy. It is to Castlereagh's credit that he foresaw what, as we know, did actually take place—an attempt by France to escape from the meshes of the Alliance, in which it was the intention of the Powers to keep her entangled.[1] This hypothesis will explain both the brevity of the instructions and their obvious inference that the English minister (in this case Castlereagh himself) was to make it his business on his way through Paris to discover what the French intentions were.

[1] Even Canning admitted this. On September 27 he wrote to Wellington in respect of the probability of the separation of France from the Allies: 'But something has occurred since your Grace's departure, tending so strongly to confirm the views of policy under which those heads of instructions were drawn that I think it right to lose no time in reporting to you these occurrences for your Grace's information and guidance.' (*Wellington Disp.* i. 301.) It is clear that Canning knew a great deal more about these instructions than he cared to own.

It was not until he had become quite clear on this that he would be in a position to supplement the heads of instructions by more definite proposals. The course of action here outlined is sensible enough, nor is there any reason to suppose that Wellington misunderstood it. The exact contrary is the case. Castlereagh's instructions were transmitted to him without alteration; and before setting out he was careful to have an interview with Canning at the Foreign Office. Now Wellington had been kept in England by Castlereagh's death and his own severe illness. Meantime the sovereigns and their ministers assembled in Vienna. In his absence there were no formal conferences. The Allies awaited his arrival three weeks, and ultimately, conceiving this delay highly prejudicial to their interests, decided to leave for Verona without him. When Wellington was sufficiently convalescent to set out for Vienna, he had the best of reasons for hastening his journey. Any delay would be open to misconstruction, and would appear wanting in consideration for the sovereigns and their ministers. We know that this point did weigh with him and hastened his progress.[1] This was all the more necessary as the French press had begun to evince some scepticism as to the reality of his illness, a scepticism which would seem to have been shared by Villèle, before the Duke's arrival at Paris. Moreover, he had no instructions authorising him to proceed to Verona, and most certainly at the time he did not think he would obtain them.[2] It was not anticipated that the preliminary conferences at Vienna would last more than a week; and as things were it might have been supposed that Wellington would have seized the *return* journey and not the *out* journey as the more favourable for stopping at Paris and discussing with the French ministers the relations of their country towards Spain, unless indeed it was apprehended that these relations were about to engage the serious attention of the Congress. For in any case, if he broke his

[1] Villèle, *Mém.* 1904, iii. 63, 65.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 65; *Wellington Disp.* i. 340.

journey at Paris, he would be obliged to lose, as actually happened, the better part of two days, a matter of some moment when travelling against time, and in no case could he hope to see the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had then been gone some weeks.[1]

There were two main routes to Vienna;[2] the longer by way of Paris and Salzburg, the shorter by way of Frankfort and Ratisbon. Uncertain at first as to which Wellington would take, couriers were despatched from Vienna to both Salzburg and Ratisbon, inviting him to proceed direct to Verona.[3] Curiosity was awake at Vienna when it became known that the Duke had taken the *longer* in place of the *shorter* route, and that (in pursuance of his instructions) he had broken his journey at Paris.[4] For, again, he could not have been anxious to do this, both on account of the hurry in which he was to reach Vienna and from the very bad state of his health, which rendered travelling difficult, even precarious, and curtailed the hours of travel per diem.[5] We may assume, then, that he would not have gone to Paris unless the need were urgent. Moreover, Liverpool and Bathurst knew that he was going, and unless we choose to be fanciful in attributing to those personages a greater share of ignorance than they are commonly supposed to have possessed, they must also have been aware that he was travelling by a longer route. Now here we are faced by a dilemma. The English ministry either did know that the Spanish Question was about to enter on a critical stage, or else they did not. If they did, their conduct at any rate has the merit of consistency. If they

[1] Wellington arrived in Paris at 1.30 P.M. on September 20, and left on the morning of the 22nd, not, as he stated, on Tuesday the 23rd, which, by the way, fell on a Monday.

[2] These were the two great highroads, traversed by mails, and provided with post-horses. They were macadamised in 1837, but I have been unable to obtain information as to their condition in 1822.

[3] France, 721, September 25, Montmorency to Hermann, Arch. Paris.

[4] Villèle, *Mém.* iii. 53; Montmorency's dispatch of September 14.

[5] *The Times*, September 30, 1822.

did not, it is apparent that they were unprepared to carry their belief to its logical conclusion. To say nothing of Canning, who could hardly have had the chance,[1] neither Bathurst, Liverpool, nor Wellington, so far as I am aware, tried to procure any alterations in these instructions. And yet it was the obvious course to take. The instructions were drawn up in August for August, and not in September for October. Certain aspects of the problem had changed and it required to be handled in a different way. 'It is of great importance,' said these instructions, that the British plenipotentiary should go to Paris. This was the only thing which these instructions said was of 'great importance,' and consequently Wellington went. Among the books and papers selected for his Grace to while away the tedious hours of travel were all the dispatches to and from Madrid and Lisbon since the month of April, 1821, together with Stuart's dispatches from Paris.[2]

In Paris he had two conversations with Villèle, in the course of which it became abundantly clear that the French were preparing for war, and that 'their whole policy in relation to Spain was founded upon French interests.'[3] Wellington at once sent home a report of these conversations to his Government—a report which, as we have seen, formed No. 1 A section of the original papers—and demanded further instructions. Are we not right in assuming that this was the course of action which Castlereagh's instructions prescribed, and that the points upon which he desired to be enlightened were just those points with which Wellington's dispatch dealt? For it was not in respect to Spain, but in respect to Villèle's proposition regarding Spain, that Wellington asked for further instructions, and the distinction between the two is a very real one.

[1] Canning only accepted the seals of office within forty-eight hours of Wellington's departure.

[2] *P.R.O. Continent*, 48.

[3] For reports of these conversations see Villèle, *Mém.* iii. 59–65, and *Wellington Disp.* i. 288–294.

This opinion is strengthened by an event of exceptional importance which had occurred meantime in London, an event which was due indirectly to Castlereagh, and which is an additional proof of his vigilance. Canning did not at once comply with Wellington's request for further instructions. The political situation had changed for the worse, and he deferred sending them previous to consulting Lord Liverpool.[1] This change is to be attributed to a series of events, all pointing in the same direction. Canning had received from Vienna a dispatch [2] from which he became aware of the intention of the Allies to proceed at once to Verona, and simultaneously with this the allied ministers in London had lodged a combined protest with the British Government against the departure of A'Court for Madrid. He discovered that 'the separate arrival' of Marcellus, the young French chargé d'affaires, had been 'studiously contrived,' and viewing this incident in the light of the information furnished him by Wellington from Paris, it was not difficult to draw the inference.[3] This impression would have received startling confirmation had he then been aware of the sinister title which had already been bestowed by royal authority on the French sanitary cordon.[4]

It seems to have been forgotten that the substitution of A'Court for Hervey at Madrid was one of the last acts of

[1] *P.R.O. Continent*, 48; Canning's dispatch of September 24.

[2] Londonderry's dispatch of September 13.

[3] *P.R.O. Continent*, 48; Canning's dispatch of September 26. 'I am thus particular in mentioning the *separate* arrival of the French chargé d'affaires, because I since *know* it to have been studiously contrived by him.' The same dispatch in *Wellington Disp.* vi. 301 omits the full force of this by failing to italicise the words as they are underlined in the original MSS.

[4] Canning, it seems, was not aware of this, else surely he would have mentioned it in his dispatch. The Royal Ordinance transforming the sanitary cordon into a *corps d'observation* was signed on September 22. It was not published in the *Moniteur* till the 25th. Sir Charles Stuart's dispatch informing Canning was written on the 26th. Villèle deliberately hastened the execution of this measure, which he did not wish to appear the work of the Alliance. See Espagne, 717, Vill. disp. of September 28 and October 14, Arch. Paris.

Castlereagh. He had decided on this measure as early as, or even earlier than, the month of January 1822.[1] There is something more than a coincidence between this decision and the fall of the Richelieu ministry in the December of the preceding year. The real successor to Wellesley at Madrid was A'Court,[2] and yet the months passed by and Castlereagh still hesitated. Are we not right in assuming that he was holding this appointment back as a weapon in reserve? For though it was Bathurst, and not Castlereagh, who ultimately presented his credentials to A'Court, there is evidence to show that in the middle of August that minister was making active preparations for departure and was negotiating with the Foreign Office in regard to two attachés whom he desired to have with him. Moreover, we know that his journey to the Spanish capital was actually hastened so that he might reach Madrid before the opening of the Congress.[3] This measure caused real umbrage to the foreign ministers, and gave rise to the most extravagant rumours. It should serve to dispel the doubts which have been fostered as to the sincerity of Castlereagh's attitude towards the Spanish revolution. That attitude never changed. In 1820 the principle of non-interference in the internal transactions of foreign states had been laid down as a fundamental principle of English foreign policy, and

[1] *P.R.O. Spain*, 254; Castlereagh's dispatch of January 15, 1822. *P.R.O. Sicily*, 98, February 9. A'Court acknowledges letters of recall.

[2] Hervey was not recalled. He applied on August 15, 1822, for leave to return home on the ground of ill-health, so soon as A'Court should arrive (*P.R.O. Spain*, 257). Replying to this letter on September 5, Bathurst said that he saw no objection to his absenting himself on leave from his post. (*P.R.O. Spain*, 254.)

[3] *Hansard*, N.S., vol. viii. 845; Liverpool's speech of April 14. It is of importance to notice that A'Court had received instructions to lose no time in repairing immediately to Madrid, 'in consequence of the strong conviction, on the minds of His Majesty's Government, of the expediency of his being at his post before the commencement of the discussions at Vienna-Verona,' and that these instructions were given to him 'before' the Allies made their representation. Of course Canning makes no allusion to this.

to that principle Castlereagh had rigidly adhered. As late as July 1822, when the massacre of the guards at Madrid modified not only Franco-Spanish relations but the relations also between France and the Allies, Castlereagh only deduced from these events fresh arguments against intervention, and fresh reasons for disbanding that sanitary cordon, so fruitful a cause of irritation at Madrid. It is inconceivable that he did not know, and knowing did not profit by, the intentions of the Congress in respect to Spain. It was for that very purpose that Montmorency was invited to Vienna, and he only accepted on learning that Castlereagh intended to be there.[1] When the death of that minister was known at Paris, there was some talk of revising this arrangement.[2] The departure of A'Court for Madrid on the eve of the Congress, and at the very time when the other Powers were talking of recalling their ministers, was not a fortuitous or erratic measure. It is understood by all that went before; it is explained by all that followed after. It was part of that system which had been pursued with systematic thoroughness since 1820, and whence, by a process of elimination, English influence was to rule supreme over all the peninsulas of Southern Europe. It was Castlereagh's reply both to Alexander, who had renewed his offer of crushing the Spanish revolution by the employment of Russian troops, and to Metternich, who hoped to avert the storm by the familiar device of summoning a Congress. The collapse of British diplomacy is not to be explained by attributing it to Castlereagh's want of foresight, nor by fault-finding with his instructions. We must look for the cause elsewhere.

Let me, in conclusion, repeat the proposition from which I started. I have striven to show that the view that Spanish affairs were sprung upon the English Government in September 1822 is untenable, and the alternative which

[1] France, Boislecomte, 722, Arch. Paris.

[2] *P.R.O. France*, 273; Stuart's dispatches of August 22 and 29, 1822.

I have postulated seems to me to be truer because it is a wider view. It is a wider view in that it embraces a larger number of known facts than any other, and moreover it is a consistent view. The view which is opposed to it exhibits hopeless collisions. It is to create far more difficulties than are involved in its rejection. It is to assert that Castlereagh failed to respond to the repeated warnings which he received from the diplomatic service abroad. It is to suggest a conspiracy of silence on the part of the great Powers towards England, which we know not to have been the case. It is to forget that for two years the Czar had been alternately pressing armed interference on France and offering to undertake it himself, and that at the Congress of Laybach the Spanish Question had already formed the topic of unofficial discussions. Finally, it is to assume an inexplicable collapse of that vigilance which for two anxious years had kept the peace in Western Europe. However defensible this view may have been as a makeshift at the time, it is no longer defensible now. It is no longer defensible because it collapses utterly when we confront it with certain objections; and it is because the conclusion to which I have come seems to me to hold against all objections that I am in reason bound to believe that it is likely to be true.

THE PEDIGREE OF EARL GODWIN

By ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S.

Read January 16, 1913

I.—WULFNOTH

THE last surviving son of Earl Godwin was named Wulfnoth. He had been kept prisoner by King William the Conqueror, and was released on William's death, but only for a short time. His name was not a common one, not more than fourteen persons who bore it in the eleventh century being recorded in Searle's 'Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum,' and only about nine in the tenth. The name of Wulfnoth is purely Old English. So, too, are the names of some of the other children of Earl Godwin—namely, Lêofwine, Êadgŷth, Ælfgifu and Êadgifu. But the names of Earl Godwin's other sons, Swegen, Harold, Tostig and Gyrth, are Dano-Norwegian in immediate origin. Even the name of Harold is Scandinavian, the true Old-English and West-Saxon form being 'Hereweald.'[1]

Earl Godwin's own name, also, is purely Old English. It was very common, and no fewer than forty-five notices of persons who bore it in the eleventh century are registered in Searle's 'Onomasticon.' It frequently occurs upon coins of the period, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor it

[1] Harold = Harald. King Harald Blātand was King Harold's mother's great-great-grandfather. Harald's queen was named 'Gyritha' by Saxo, *Historia Danica*, x. pp. 480, 485 and 495*. This is a feminine form of 'Gyrith' or 'Gyrth,' the name of King Harold's younger brother, who is called 'Guerd,' 'Guert' and 'Gurt,' in Domesday Book. 'Gyrth' is most uncommon. 'Tostig,' the name of another of the Godwinsons, appears eight times in the eleventh century. Saxo calls him 'Tosto,' *ibid.* p. 522. 'Anglorum satrapa Godewinus' is father of Harald, Biorno and Tosto, *ibid.*

was stamped upon the issues of twenty-four different English mint-towns. In Sussex, Earl Godwin's first aldermanry, one or more moneyers of this name were responsible for the issues in King Edward's time from the mints at Chichester, Lewes and Steyning.

Earl Godwin's wife was named Gŷtha, and their son, King Harold, had children bearing their names.[1] It is probable, too, that Godwin's son Wulfnoth was named after his paternal grandfather Wulfnoth Child, Thane of Sussex.

The earliest direct statement that couples Wulfnoth Child and Godwin as father and son is to be found in a Latin and Old-English Chronicle which is cited as MS. *F*, and is now in the British Museum.[2] It was compiled at the end of the eleventh century. It presents numerous additions, corrections and interlineations, and was probably transcribed within fifty years of the death of Godwin. Its place of origin was undoubtedly Canterbury, for which reason it has a value of its own with respect to the statements it makes about Godwin, inasmuch as it belongs to the very district which the Earl was 'loth to mar,' when commanded to do so by King Edward. Many passages in this compilation have parallels in the Worcester Saxon Chronicle, cited as MS. *D*, the second hand of which wrote those folios which include the important annal 1009.[3] This hand is assigned, for palæographical reasons, to about 1050. In the annal 1009 is the statement that 'the Alderman Eadric's brother Brihtric laid an accusation against Wulfnoth Child, the South Saxon, before the king.' The words in the original are—'Brihtric Eadrices brothor ealdormannes forwregde Wulfnoth Cild thone Suthsexiscan

[1] Harold's daughter Gytha is alleged to have married Wladimir of Novogorod, son of Tsar Uselovod. His other daughter, Gunhilda, bore a very common name. We find *G.*, aunt of Cnut; daughter of Cnut; niece of Cnut; and daughter of Godwin.

[2] The Cotton MS. *Domitian A VIII* is described by Mr. Plummer in *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. (1899) p. xxxvi.

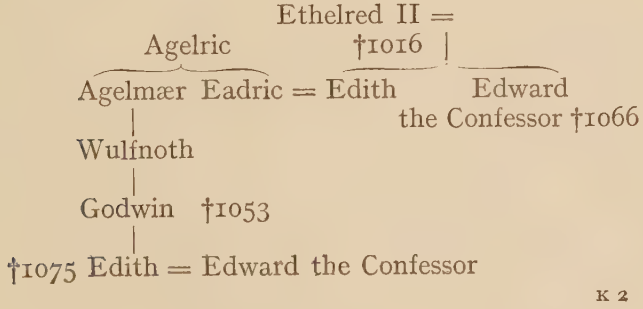
[3] See Plummer, *u.s.*, p. xxxiii.

to tham cinge.' The use of the ethnic name here is elliptical : *se Suthsexisca* signifies 'Thane of Sussex.' This passage also appears in the Canterbury bi-lingual Chronicle of *circa* 1100, to which reference was made just now. There it is accompanied by the valuable additions 'Godwines fæder eorles' : 'patrem Godwini ducis.' These phrases are written above the line in the Old-English and the Latin sections respectively, and they relate to Wulfnoth Child.

Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, and with whom the bi-lingual chronicler and interpolator (if there were really two persons) were contemporary, notes under 1007 that Godwin's father was named Wulfnoth. Under 1009 Florence refers to 'Uulnothus Suthsaxonicus minister,' i.e. Wulfnoth, Thane of Sussex. But he does not give any hint that Wulfnoth, Thane of Sussex in 1009, and Godwin, Earl of Sussex at a later date, were father and son. Under 1007 Florence makes the following genealogical statements :

> 'In this year moreover the king made Êadric, the son of Agelric, Alderman of the Mercians ; whose brothers were Brihtric, Aelfric, Goda, Aegelwin, Agelward, Agelmær father of Wulfnoth the father of Godwin, the Alderman of the West Saxons.'

Now this Alderman Êadric married King Ethelred's daughter Edith, and King Ethelred's son King Edward married Earl Godwin's daughter Edith. Consequently, if Florence is right, Êadric's brother Agelmær was by way of being his own great-grand-daughter's brother-in-law, as the following table will show :—



This table makes it quite clear that Florence did not marshal his genealogical data correctly. Nevertheless, his testimony tallies, as far as it goes, with what the Canterbury interpolator of *circa* 1100 says, and is very welcome. Florence's mistake would seem to indicate that he had Earl Godwin's pedigree before him, and also the names of the six sons of Agelric,and that, for some reason that is now inscrutable, he casually identified Agelmær, one of the six, with an ancestor of Earl Godwin who bore the same name.

The correct spelling of the name that Florence gives as *Agelmær* is Æthelmær. The pronunciation of the name had, no doubt, become broken down long before the accession of King Canute. The dental aspirate had dwindled by then to a mere breath which some writers represented by the Old-English intervocalic *g*, and this had the sound of English *y*.[1] When the classical spelling of this name became obsolete a great variety of orthographical representations supervened. The course of decadence was as follows :—

Æthel-, Ægel-, Æil-, Æl-, Ayl- and El-.

I will give a few instances : the name of Æthelwine, Alderman of East Anglia, is spelt *Ælwinus* in the 'Book of Ely';[2] that of Bishop Æthelwold as *Ælwold* in the 'Book of Hyde';[3] that of a Bishop of Elmham in the time of Edward the Confessor, as *Æthelmær*, *Ægelmær* and *Aylmer*.[4] In the will of Prince Athelstan, a son of Ethelred the Second, we get *Ælmer*, *Eylmer* and *Eilmer*.[5] Lastly, William of Malmesbury represents the name of Æthelward by *Elwardus*.[6]

Thus far then we have an Earl of Sussex named Godwin

[1] *E.g.* West Saxon *rēn*, *þēn* and *wān* (= rain, thane and wain), beside *rĕgn*, *þĕgn* and *wăgn*.

[2] *Historia Ecclesiæ Elyensis*, II. li., ed. Gale, 'Scriptores Quindecim,' iii. This was compiled *c.* 1150 by Thomas of Ely.

[3] See *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. Edward Edwards, 1866, 'R.B.SS.,' No. 45.

[4] See Searle's *Onomasticon*, p. 43, ÆTHELMÆR.

[5] See John Earle's *Handbook to the Land Charters*, 224.

[6] *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, cap. clxii., ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, 1870, 'R.B.SS.,' No. 52.

affiliated to a Thane of Sussex who is named Wulfnoth and is said to be a son of an Æthelmær, Ægelmær or Ælmær, according to the orthographical method adopted by the scribes.

We will now attempt to identify this Æthelmær, the father of Wulfnoth Child.

II.—Æthelmær

The name of Æthelmær was not at all common. Under dates in the tenth century only sixteen appearances of it are enumerated by Searle, and the majority of these fall into well-defined groups. In the eleventh century only nine occurrences of this name are registered. It is possible that there were only two Æthelmærs among the *duces* attesting charters of the last quarter of the tenth century. At a slightly earlier time there was an Æthelmær who is called ' Agelmarus Cild ' in the ' Book of Ely,' II. vii. He was one of ' duo optimates Angliae ' to whom was allotted the duty of seeing that the covenants of the re-foundation charter granted to Ely by King Edgar, in about 972, were observed.

In the ' Book of Ely ' we are told that the word ' cild ' means *puer*.[1] But this is inexact, and the use of the word implies something which is much more precise than the proffered explanation would lead one to expect. I gather that the word *Cild* was used to indicate—(1) that the person so styled was legally admitted to be the Child, *i.e.* the youngest; (2) that the father was holding certain lands *jure uxoris*; (3) that the descent of these lands was regulated by the primitive custom called Borough English, which required that the youngest son should succeed thereto. This custom is a well-marked and prominent feature of land-tenure in Sussex. At one time and another it has regulated inheritance in one hundred and forty manors

[1] To say that the title of Cild means *puer* is like saying that *Infante* means ' boy.'

in the county, most of which lie in the Rape of Lewes. The custom is found also, though to a much less extent, in Kent, Surrey, and Somerset. As we pass northward it dies away; and this, no doubt, accounts for the twelfth-century writer who compiled the 'Book of Ely' making the facile attempt to explain the word which was cited just now.

Wulfnoth Child, Thane of Sussex, no doubt occupied the position with respect to some of the Sussex lands that his father held which we describe now-a-days as 'heir presumptive.' The epithet 'Child,' applied to an Æthelmær some thirty years earlier, indicates three things: (1) that that Æthelmær's father was still alive; (2) that the descent of a moiety at least of the lands he held was regulated by Borough English; and (3) that Æthelmær himself was heir presumptive thereto.

In A.D. 972 there were two Æthelmærs, as I remarked just now. The second was an alderman. He appears in charters in 972 and 976;[1] and in 982 we read in the Chronicle of his death, and learn at the same time that he was alderman of Hampshire. As no other Æthelmærs occupying prominent official positions at the close of King Edgar's reign are known, and as the name is not only uncommon in itself, but, in the case of the younger man, is distinguished by the title of 'Child,' I do not hesitate to identify the Æthelmær Child of the 'Book of Ely,' in *circa* 972, with the Æthelmær who, according to Florence, was the father of a Wulfnoth whom I have identified as Wulfnoth Child of 1009. The second 'optimate,' who was named Alwold, we will now identify.

When the Alderman of Hampshire died the only prominent person of the name of Æthelmær, as we have just now implied, was the well-known nobleman who is described as the King's Satrap in the foundation charter of Cernel at Cerne

[1] Cf. Kemble, No. 1347 (*a. c.* 976); and Kemble, No. 638 (*a. c.* 983). This Æthelmær was already *dux* in 976. He died before 984, when Ælfric signs as *ealdorman* of Hants.

Abbas, a monastery in Dorsetshire which Æthelmær's father Ethelwerd had founded in 987. Among those who helped to endow this monastery was an Ælfwold. Him I identify with Alwold of the 'Book of Ely,' and, in view of the close connexion with Sussex, I suggest that he may have been the Ælfweald who had a son Leofwine whom King Ethelred sent in 991 on an embassy to Richard, Duke of Normandy. The name Ælfweald is an infrequent one among noblemen at the end of the eleventh century.

The satrapy held by Æthelmær in 987 may have been that of Sussex. In 981 King Ethelred, in a charter in which his own mother's brother, the Alderman Ordwulf, is mentioned, speaks of Æthelmær as 'consanguinitate mihi agglutinatus.'[1] Ordwulf, Alderman of Devonshire, died in 1005, and was succeeded in his aldermanry by Æthelmær. No doubt when Æthelmær took over the government of Devonshire he surrendered his aldermanry of Sussex to his son Wulfnoth Child. The latter in any case actually was Thane of Sussex four years later, namely, in 1009.

In the year 1013 the thanes of the West country, together with their alderman, the Æthelmær we know, submitted to Sweyn, King of Denmark, at Bath, without striking a blow.[2] Whether Wulfnoth Child was slandered, betrayed, or deservedly exposed in 1009, we cannot tell. He was certainly driven into disastrous rebellion, and was, no doubt, deprived of his lands and honours by King Ethelred and the witan. His misfortunes, whether merited or not, could not fail to intensify the feeling of insecurity and discontent

[1] Kemble, 629, 1312. Ethelred's charter to Abingdon in 985 runs: 'Haec praefatarum descriptio terrarum facta est per admonitionem Ordulfi auunculi mei [ob. 1005] atque Aethelmari consanguinitate mihi conglutinati': K., vi. 174. This grant was made after the banishment of Aelfric Child (in 985), who is referred to in the *Book of Ely*, cap. v., *u.s.*, iii. 466.

[2] 'MXIII . . . þa wende Swegen cyng . . . to Baþan *ond* sæt þær mid hîs fyrde. *ond* com Æþelmær ealdorman þyder *ond* þa westernan þægenas mid him *ond* bugon ealle to Swegene *ond* hi gisludon': Cotton MS. *Tiberius B. I.* (the *Abingdon Chron.*, C) *scr. c.* 1050.

which characterised the closing years of King Ethelred's very unhappy reign, and they may have rendered Alderman Æthelmær's homaging of Sweyn, and the rejection of Ethelred implied thereby, more excusable. In addition to this Æthelmær was past middle life, and was, perhaps, as much as sixty years old in 1013.

Sweyn died in 1014 and King Ethelred came back from Normandy before Easter, which fell that year on April 25. He was gladly received by all, we are told. We may assume, though, that Alderman Æthelmær did not escape punishment, and we shall presently see that he was deprived of his estates and offices.

In 1015, the year after King Sweyn's death, Prince Athelstan, a son of King Ethelred, made his will.[1] It is a lengthy document containing much valuable and some ungarnered items of information. The testator's lands in East Anglia were bequeathed to his brother Edmund with the stipulation that the monks of Ely should receive one day's victuals in each year. Another brother, Edrith by name, was to have a sword with a silver hilt. And Bishop Elfsige, who had been consecrated to Winchester a year or two before, was to have a gilt crucifix and a black horse. Then come the following interesting passages:

'And I grant to Ælmær those lands at Hamelanden which he possessed aforetime. And I pray my father to confirm this bequest to him for the love of God Almighty and of me. And I grant to Godwin those lands at Cumtûn which his father Wulfnoth formerly owned.'

It has escaped notice hitherto that these sentences in Prince Athelstan's will give three names which are successive in Earl Godwin's pedigree, as that appears in Florence: viz. Ælmær, Wulfnoth, and Godwin. Ælmær, as I have explained already, is a resultant form of Æthelmær. We know that Alderman Æthemær was alive in 1015, because

[1] See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, No. 722, iii. 363. Also Sandys, *Consuetudines Kanciæ*, p. 292.

he survived King Ethelred. The latter fact is recorded for us by Ælfric the Grammarian, who was abbot of Eynsham, Æthelmær's own foundation. In the preface to his 'Homilies' Ælfric speaks of having been sent by Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester to a monastery at Cernel, 'in King Ethelred's day' by desire of the Thane Æthelmær, 'whose [high] birth and goodness are so widely known,' says Ælfric. At the end of the preface reference is made, in Latin, to Æthelmær's father Ethelwerd; and Ælfric, who knew Ethelwerd well, and had corresponded upon literary matters with him, rightly calls him 'dux.' As Ælfric merely styles Æthelmær 'thane,' we may perceive that he was no longer 'dux,' or chief alderman, in 1017.

Prince Athelstan informs us in the will we are discussing that he had already received permission from the king to dispose of his lands and other property in the way that seemed most expedient. Consequently, the very earnest prayer he makes to the king that his bequest of Hamelanden to Ælmær might receive the royal confirmation, suggests that the legatee was lying under some very serious legal disability. As he was the Alderman Æthelmær who had behaved so badly two years before, the nature and origin of that disability are patent to us.

The identification of the Godwin of Athelstan's will was made long ago by Professor Freeman on account of the reference to the lands at Cumtûn.[1] We have developed the matter a little further and I make three identifications—namely: (1) the Wulfnoth of the will is the Wulfnoth named by Florence who was father of Godwin and son of an Agelmær; (2) the Ælmær of the will is the Agelmær of the pedigree given by Florence; and (3) these are the Æthelmær who was Alderman of Devonshire and son of Ethelwerd the Historian.

It has been suggested by Kemble that Hamelanden is Hambleden in Buckinghamshire. It is really Hambledon

[1] *Norman Conquest*, i. 703.

in Hampshire, and there is no room for doubt about the position of Wulfnoth's estate of Cumtûn. Earl Godwin's earliest 'satrapy,' or minor aldermanry, was that of Sussex,[1] though his wider and more splendid government of Wessex has obscured the fact. His landed property in Sussex is rightly described as 'vast.' Almost one-third of the whole hidation of the county was either in Godwin's own hands or in those of members of his family. He owned more than eleven hundred hides either in his own right, as part and parcel of his own manors; or else *ex officio* as 'villæ comitales.' His reputation was so enduring, moreover, that, notwithstanding the fact that he had been dead for upwards of thirty-three years when the Great Survey was made, his ownership of manors and parcels of land in Sussex, and other counties, was recollected and set down by the surveyors, and recorded in Domesday Book, together with their rating and yield. Among these possessions was the manor of 'Contone,' fo. 24*a*:

'Geoffrey holds Contone of Count Roger. Sbern held it of Earl Godwin. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne there is 1 plough, and there are 8 villeins and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs. There is a church and there are 4 slaves. In Chichester 2 town plots with houses worth 2 shillings belong to this manor. The priest holds ½ a hide. In the time of King Edward and now it might be valued at 8 pounds. When renewed, at 100 shillings.'

It is a characteristic of the Norman spelling of Anglo-Saxon names and common words that we find *o* in place of the vowel *u*.[2] Hence the word 'Cumtune' of Prince Athelstan's will should be represented in Norman orthography by Comtone. What we actually find, however, is 'Contone,' and this is so not only in the case of Compton in the

[1] '. . . et licet per omnes fere Angliae partes potestas eius extenderetur, principalis tamen comitatus eius australis erat regio quae linguâ eorum dicitur Sudsexia': *Liber de Hyda*, p. 288.

[2] Cf. 'wolf' for O.E. *wulf*; 'son' for *sunu*; 'Soleham' in Domesday Book, p. 11, for Sulham; 'Soninges' in Domesday Book, p. 5, for Sunninges; 'Offentone,' *ibid.* p. 7, for Uffinton.

Rape of Chichester, but in all other cases where this place-name appears. In fact Comtone does not occur anywhere in Domesday Book, and we get 'Contone' thirteen times, at least, where modern English has 'Compton.'

III.—Æthelweard

The name of Ethelwerd occurs much more frequently than that of Ethelmer or, as we now pronounce it, Aylmer. Against various dates in the tenth century Searle registers twenty-nine occurrences of the name. For the eleventh century his work only yields sixteen. Not a few of these entries refer to the same persons and may be grouped with strong probability of collective identification. In the 'Book of Ely' (II. xxxiv.), at about A.D. 975 we find an Æthelward who is distinguished as 'de Suthsexe.' He had a son Ægelwin (= Æthelwine) who was a land-owner in East Anglia, and who sold Swaffham and Berlea to King Edgar for eighty pieces of gold. The king gave these lands to the monks of Ely monastery, which had recently been re-established by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester. By the phrase 'de Suthsexe' I understand 'Thane of Sussex.' The phrase 'se Suth-Seaxisca' of the Chronicle (annal 1009) is rendered 'Suth-Saxonicus minister' by Florence, as we have already noted. Similarly, in annal 988, 'se Dæfenisca thægn' is rendered 'satrapa Domnaniae.' As the first satrapy of Earl Godwin was that of Sussex, and as his father Wulfnoth Child was previously Thane of Sussex also, I identify Æthelwerd de Suthsexe, of *circa* 975, with the Alderman Ethelwerd who was father of Æthelmær Child and grandfather of Wulfnoth Child.

William of Malmesbury[1] speaks of the rich man 'Elwardus' (*i.e.* Æthelweard) who founded the monastery of Cerne in 987. He, we know, was father of the satrap or lesser thane, Æthelmær. Ethelwerd's close connexion with

[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, cap. lxxxiv.

the monastic revival wrought by Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester may perhaps be at the root of the statement made by William [1] that the abbey of Pershore was founded by an Ethelwerd whom he calls 'dux Dorsetensis' (MS. *-sat-*).

All historians are agreed that the Ethelwerd actually meant is none other than the Alderman and annalist who is sometimes spoken of as 'the Historian.' It is important for us to know the exact date of Ethelwerd's literary activity. But it is undetermined, and the period usually assigned, namely, 'between 975 and 1011,' is too wide an interval to be of any critical value. We will, therefore, endeavour to fix the date more narrowly.

Ethelwerd, in his Prologue, explains to his cousin Matilda that King Alfred sent his daughter Ælfthryth to Germany to become the wife of Baldwin. This Baldwin was the Count of Flanders who died in 919. From Baldwin and his wife, Ælfthryth, was descended Arnulf the Second, also Count of Flanders, whom Ethelwerd refers to as Matilda's 'neighbour Count Earnulf.' Now Count Arnulf the Second died in 988. Consequently Ethelwerd must have been writing to Matilda before 989. As he speaks of Arnulf, Count of Flanders, as Matilda's neighbour, and also calls Matilda 'Christi ancilla,' it should be obvious that there can be no question of her removal to Milan, or of her alleged marriage to Obizzo, the Count of that city.[2]

In his Book IV., cap. v., where he speaks of the consequences of King Athelstan's victory at Brunanburh, Ethelwerd tells us that from that day to the time when he was writing, no fleet set in motion towards the shores of the Angles had anchored without entering into a treaty. Now it would have been impossible to assert this after the events of the year 980. In that year Southampton was

[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, cap. clxii. In support of William's identification cf. *infra*, p. 16, note 1.

[2] Ethelwerd's salutation is as follows: 'Perpetuam Patricius Consul Fabius Quaestor Ethelwerdus Mahtildi consobrinae optat in Christo dilectissimae et uerae Christi ancillae Ethelwerdus in Domino patricius Mahtildi salutem': *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 499.

raided by the crews of seven ships from Denmark; Thanet, also, was ravaged; and the shire of Chester was harried by another naval force which came from Norway. The invasions continued, year after year, and by 991 the kingdom of England had again become tributary to the Danes. It is clear, therefore, that the compilation we owe to Ethelwerd was made between the death of King Edgar, in 975, and 981.

Ethelwerd, again, makes no mention of either of King Edgar's sons. The circumstances attending the accession of King Ethelred were of such a nature that a prudent man would prefer to pass over them in silence, if he were contemporary with them. If Edward was still upon the throne Ethelwerd could have had no reason for neglecting to mention him to Matilda. I assume, therefore, that Ethelwerd wrote after King Edward's murder. That occurred on March 18, 978, and it is fair to conclude that Ethelwerd wrote to his cousin Matilda between that date and the summer of 980, when the new series of Danish and Norwegian invasions of England commenced. If we select the mean date we cannot be wrong by more than nine months, either way. We may therefore assign the compilation of Ethelwerd's 'Annals' to A.D. 979.

Ethelwerd's first recorded appearance in the charters, among the *duces*, or chief aldermen, is in 974: B. 1311. From that year to 984 he attests eight extant charters, at least, and his relative position among the other aldermen is 3, 4, 4, 1, 5, 3, 4, 3, respectively.[1] In 994, or shortly

[1] Ethelwerd's attestations are very numerous. In 973, in Edgar's charter to Alfric Ethelwerd is the first of the *ministri*: B. 1292. In 974, in Edgar's charter to Alfric, abbot of Malmesbury, we may read—'Ego Athelwerd et frater meus Alfwerd, ministri, cons. et subs.': B. 1301. In Edgar's foundation charter to Ramsey of December 28, 974, Ethelwerd signs last of the *duces*: B. 1311. The two brothers attest many charters from 965 (B. 1172) to 973 (B. 1286). The relative position of Ethelwerd in twenty-five charters is—first in 3; second in 5; third in 5; fourth in 8; fifth in 3; second or third in 1. Alfwerd is rightly neither first nor second in any; third in 3; fourth in 3; fifth in 2.

before, he became first among the *duces*, and maintained that position till 998, when his name disappears.

Ethelwerd gives us the following genealogical particulars.[1] He tells Matilda that King Alfred was a son of King Ethelwulf, from whom they both derived their origin. Ethelwulf had five sons. Ethelred was one of these, and Ethelwerd derived from him. Alfred was another, and Matilda derived from him. Ethelwerd repeats himself in IV. ii., where he describes Ethelred as his own *atavus*, and Alfred as Matilda's. When speaking of Hengist he says that Woden was his *atavus*. Now Hengist was Woden's grandson's grandson. Similarly Matilda was Alfred's grand-daughter's grand-daughter. I assume, therefore, that Ethelwerd, also, was in the fourth degree of descent from the *atavus* he claims, namely, King Ethelred the First.

Ethelred the First had two sons: one, Ethelwold, a rebel who disputed in arms the succession of Edward the Elder; the other, Æthelhelm, who is mentioned in the will of King Alfred the Great.[2] That will was written before the death of Archbishop Ethelred, *i.e.* before A.D. 888. It contains a very interesting legacy which has not been noticed in connexion with the question we are considering. It is the bequest of lands at Compton. This enables us to decide from which of King Ethelred's sons the Alderman Ethelwerd and the House of Godwin were descended.

In King Alfred's will twelve manors in Sussex are bequeathed to Alfred's near relatives, Ethelwold, Athelm and Osferth. Compton was to go to Athelm, his brother's son. 'Athelm,' 'Æthelm,' and 'Athelhelm' are the same,

[1] 'Hactenus, nugositate relicta, de filiis Athulfi incipiam loqui; . . quartus Ethered qui post obitum Eðelbyrhti successit in regnum, qui et meus atauus; quintus Elfred post omnes successor principatus totius, qui et atauus uester': *M.H.B.*, p. 514.

[2] See Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1887, ii., No. 553, p. 178. Alfred bequeaths to his brother Ethelred's son, Æthelm, lands *æt Ealdingburnan*, *æt Cumtune*, *æt Beadingum*, *æt Beadingahamme*, *æt Burnham*, *æt Thunresfeldam*, and *æt Æscengum*. No. 3 is in Hants; the last two are in Surrey; all the rest are in Sussex.

and I identify this legatee with Æthelhelm, the Alderman of Wiltshire, whom Ethelwerd speaks of as 'the famous leader' in his account of Alfred's victory at Buttington.[1] Æthelhelm, Alderman of Wiltshire, died before King Alfred, namely, in 898. But Alfred had fixed the descent of his property in the male line, unalterably, in his will.[2] So we may feel sure that one or other of Æthelhelm's children had the manor of Compton.

Alderman Æthelhelm was father of Ælfflaed, the second wife of King Edward the Elder. She was mother of that Eadgyth who was married to the Emperor Otho the First, and died in 947. Their son Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, is mentioned in the 'Evesham Chronicle' (MS. *C*) at annal 982. He was the father of the Matilda with whom Ethelwerd the Historian corresponded. She was born in 949[3] and became abbess of Quedlinburg in 999, on the death of her father's half-sister, who, also, was named Matilda.

We do not know the name of Æthelhelm's son, the grandfather of Ethelwerd; neither have we any particulars, at present, of the descent of the manor of Compton between

[1] Compare Mr. Plummer's account of the events that led up to the victory of Buttington (*Two Chronicles*, ii. 108, 109), where Ethelwerd's special information is presented in square brackets.

[2] The Middle English version in the *Book of Hyde* reads: 'And I wyll that tho men that I my fre lond have beqwethyd, that they gyve it nat from my kynn over theyr day; . . . than is me levyst that it go to the masle child byget, as long while as eny werthe be. Myne yldyr fadyr his lond on the same wyse beqwethyd to the maulys.'

[3] See *Annalium Reginonis Treuirensis Continuatio*, Pertz, 'SS.', i. 620: 'Eodem anno (949) Liutolfo filio regis Mathildis filia nascitur.' Ludolf, Duke of Swabia and Alemania, died on September 6, 957. He was born in 930, and was the son of the Emperor Otto and Eadgyth, daughter of King Edward the Elder. She died in 947. Otto married again in 951 and had a daughter Matilda, who became abbess of Quedlinburg and died in 999. She was succeeded by Ludolf's daughter, Ethelwerd's cousin, and according to the *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, Pertz, 'SS.,' III. 80, the latter died in an. 1011: 'Abstulit et de regali stemmate gemmam Machtildam abbatissam Liudolfi filiam.' It is difficult to understand why there is so much confusion about Matilda, Abbess of Quedlinburg, the daughter of Duke Ludolf.

A.D. 900, when King Alfred died, and A.D. 1009, when Wulfnoth Child, Thane of Sussex, possessed it. At midsummer, 1015, it was the property of Prince Athelstan, as we learnt just now. From about that time to April 15, 1053, it was possessed by Wulfnoth Child's son, the great Earl Godwin. The tracing of the descendants of Prince Æthelhelm, King Alfred's nephew, by means of the lands in Sussex and Hampshire that Alfred bequeathed to them, has not yet been systematically attempted, but the will of Ælfhêah,[1] Alderman of Wiltshire, who died *ca.* 971, seems to present promising material for research. It is possible, I believe, to make out a connexion with Ælfwyn, the Lady of Mercia of 919.

Ethelwerd the Historian dubs himself 'Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus,' which is very whimsical and awaits explanation. 'Patricius' was the rendering of *ealdorman*, and so, too, were *comes* and *dux*. 'Consul' has not been accounted for, but it goes with 'Fabius.' Robertson's suggestion that *patricius consul* means 'the first alderman,' will not apply, because Ethelwerd, as I have shown, wrote of himself in this way before 981, and did not attain to the first place till 993. The Roman *quæstor*, among other duties, took care of the public archives. In connexion with this four things arrest our attention: (1) Ethelwerd's historical labours generally; (2) the fact

[1] In Ælfhēah's will, *c.* 971, an Ethelwerd is called 'mæg,' *sc.* kinsman, and land is bequeathed to him 'æt Wigurnum' [ms. *Wicurnum*], *i.e.* near Worcester. With this compare the grant of land made by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (961–992), to his thane Æðelweard with remainder to an Æðelmær whose relationship to Æðelweard does not transpire. This may be our Ethelwerd. He certainly had a brother Ælfweard, and both names appear among those of the legatees who were related to Alderman Ælfhēah. This Ælfhēah and his brother Ælfhere are severally described as kinsmen of King Edwy and King Edgar, respectively. Ælfhere had one son named Godwin, who is the 'Goduuinus dux' of the charters of Ethelred II.; and another named Ælfric Child, who succeeded his father as alderman of Mercia. The name of Ælfhēah, Bishop of Winchester (984–1005), and then Archbishop of Canterbury (till 1012), is recalled by that of Ælfhēah, Alderman of Hampshire, and the Bishop was surnamed 'Godwin'; *A.S. Chron.*, 984.

that they are a translation; (3) his additions to the Chronicle, which occasionally indicate special knowledge; [1] and (4) his assumption of the Roman family name of Fabius. One of the Fabii, namely, Fabius Pictor, was also an historian. He wrote a history of Rome from the earliest times to the close of the second Punic war. His work was written in Greek. It is frequently cited by Latin and Greek historians. Sometimes it is quoted in Latin, and the translation is attributed to Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, an eminent jurist and writer of *annales*, who was consul in B.C. 142. In view of the bombastic assumption of the titles of Consul and Quæstor, and also of the family name of Fabius, I think we may assume that there was an office of keeper of the national archives in Saxon times, and that the Alderman Ethelwerd filled that office in the early part of the reign of Ethelred the Second.

Ethelwerd's attestations to the charters of his time are collectively very numerous. In 973, in King Edgar's charter to Ælfric, he appears first among the thanes: B. 1292. In 974, in Edgar's charter to Alfric, Abbot of Malmesbury (B. 1301), he and his brother Ælfweard attest. In Edgar's foundation charter to Ramsey Abbey, dated December 28, 974, we find Ethelwerd signing as youngest of the *duces*. He and his brother Ælfweard attest many charters together from 965 (B. 1172) to 973 (B. 1286).

In 991 Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, together with our Alderman Ethelwerd and the latter's relative Alfric, Alderman of Mercia, besought the king that they might purchase peace for their respective districts. The Chronicle blames the Archbishop for this, but unjustly. It also says,

[1] Ethelwerd shows special knowledge of the Aldermen of Somerset. *E.g.*—'823. Hun ibi [sc. Ellendune] occiditur, dux prouinciæ Sumorsæton, requiescitque nunc in urbe Uuintana': III. ii., *M.H.B.*, p. 510. 845. Eanwulf, Alderman of Somerset, gains a victory over the Danes at the mouth of the Parret. In 867 Ethelwerd records his death and says he was buried in the monastery of Glastonbury. In 877 Ethelwerd tells us about the doings of the famous leader Æthelnoth: *vide supra*, note to Buttington, p. 15.

very untruly, that it was the first time that peace had been purchased from the Danes. These statements are commented upon by Mr. Plummer,[1] who cites three passages from Ethelwerd in which the ambiguity of the Chronicle is dispelled, viz. in 865, 872 and 876. In each and all of these years peace had to be purchased from the invaders. As Ethelwerd wrote his 'Annals' before A.D. 981 it cannot be suggested that he made these additions in order to excuse his own action and that of the Archbishop and Alfric in 991. At 865 he says 'pecuniam parant ignoti futuri'; at 872 he adds 'stipendia statuunt'; and at 876 'simul pecuniam dando.'

Thus far our course has been much less obscure than the intricacies of the inquiry we have pursued would have led us to expect. But we cannot fill in the two names needed to complete the pedigree of Earl Godwin's great-grandfather, the historian Ethelwerd. We have had the assistance of eleventh-century authorities, among whom I am including Florence of Worcester; two royal wills have indicated two special lines of research: conjointly as regards the manor of Compton, and severally as regards the descendants of King Ethelred the First, and the forebears of Wulfnoth Child and Æthelmær; a number of tenth- and eleventh-century charters have lent their support; and the 'Book of Ely' has prevented us from allowing the area in which we have sought for facts becoming too circumscribed.[2] The conclusion that we have advanced towards is this: Earl Godwin, together with his son King Harold, was of the right line of Cerdic, and of the last Saxon king of England we can say as the Chronicle says of King Beorhtric—'his ryht fædren cyn gæth to Cerdice.'

[1] See *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Plummer, for citations of Ethelwerd, ii. pp. 59, 89, 90, and also 173-4.

[2] On the particular point see *Victoria History of the County of Somerset*, i. 399, where Mr. Horace Round shows that a Wulfward the White held land in ten counties.

IV.—Godwine

There are three points out of many connected with Earl Godwin with which I propose to deal. These are: (1) the very curious but well-known connexion between Wilmington, in the Rape of Lewes, and Cerne Abbas in Dorsetshire; (2) Godwin's acquisition of Bosham; (3) the fact that the church of Bosham belonged to the bishops of Crediton.

(1) The connexion between Cerne Abbas and Wilmington near Lewes is noteworthy. It was at Cerne that the monastery of Cernel was founded by Alderman Ethelwerd in 987. Wilmington was one of the Sussex manors of Earl Godwin, Ethelwerd's great-grandson, and it is at Wilmington that the 'Long Man,' a figure 240 feet high with a staff indicated in each hand, has been cut in the side of the Downs. At Cerne Abbas a similar figure has been cut on the side of a hill, and some rather recondite theories have been advanced about its meaning and its authors.

(2) Æthelnoth the Good, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 to 1038, was a son of the nobleman Æthelmær, according to Florence, at the year 1020. His name brings us back once more to Earl Godwin's aldermanry of Sussex, for it is to him that Walter Map's story about Bosham near Chichester relates.[1] Map says that Godwin coveted Bosham and on a day said to the archbishop—'Domine, das mihi basium?' The archbishop replied, wonderingly, 'Ego do tibi basium?' when Godwin fell at his feet and kissed them, pretending that his request had been granted, and forthwith proceeded with his knights to take possession of the archbishop's manor.

Earl Godwin certainly did own Bosham, and Archbishop Æthelnoth was his paternal uncle, being son of the Æthelmær who was Wulfnoth Child's father.

In Domesday Book it is recorded that—

[1] See the *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Thos. Wright, 1850; Camden Society, No. L.; *De origine Godwini comitis et ejus moribus*, p. 198.

'King William holds Boseham in demesne. Earl Godwin held it and then there were 56½ hides, and it paid geld for 38 hides, and does so now. The whole manor in the time of King Edward and afterwards was worth 40 pounds; now it is worth 40, yet it returns 50 pounds by weight of assayed money, which are worth 65 pounds by tale.'

Such an estate as this was not to be had for the asking, nor by playing upon the meaning of words. This story about Earl Godwin's lawlessness deserves no more credence than that which tells us he was the son of a serf.[1] No doubt in Archdeacon Walter's time the English pronunciation of the Latin word *basium* (the kiss ecclesiastical) was quite close to that of 'Boseham,' and the story may be *ben trovato*. The Old-English words *brâd*, *clâð*, and *âr* have become 'broad,' 'cloth,' and 'ore,' and *bāsium* pronounced in this way is very like 'Boseham.' But the story cannot be true, because the darkening of *ā* into *ō*, *oa*, which is the essence of the pun, did not take place, according to English phonologists, till more than a century after Godwin's death.[2]

The important point about Archdeacon Map's story is the statement he makes that Bosham belonged to the archbishop—'Cantuariensi archiepiscopo cujus tunc erat vicus.' It is generally supposed that Bosham belonged to the see of Canterbury itself, but Map does not say so. We must remember that he was a lawyer as well as an ecclesiastic. He had been a justice *in eyre*, and was promoted eventually to be King Henry the Second's chaplain. His words,

[1] 'Fuit Godwinus nempe ex infimo Anglorum genere et plus sagacitate quam animi probitate,' &c.: *Liber de Hyda*, p. 288. The same authority says similarly of Hereward the Wake that he was 'genere infimus': Appendix, p. 295. If we may regard Godwin as a Suthsexian, the statement that he was of servile birth is particularly unreliable. In Domesday Book, out of 283,000 persons enumerated no fewer than 25,000 were *servi*, that is to say 9 per cent. In Kent the percentage was 9 also; in Surrey it was 10, and in Hampshire it was 16. In all Sussex, however, there were only 420 slaves among 10,410 persons, *i.e.* 4 per cent. only.

[2] The wavering of *ā* into *ō* was present in a few words even in Godwin's time, but *c.* 1175, namely Map's own time, is given by philologists as the date of the change.

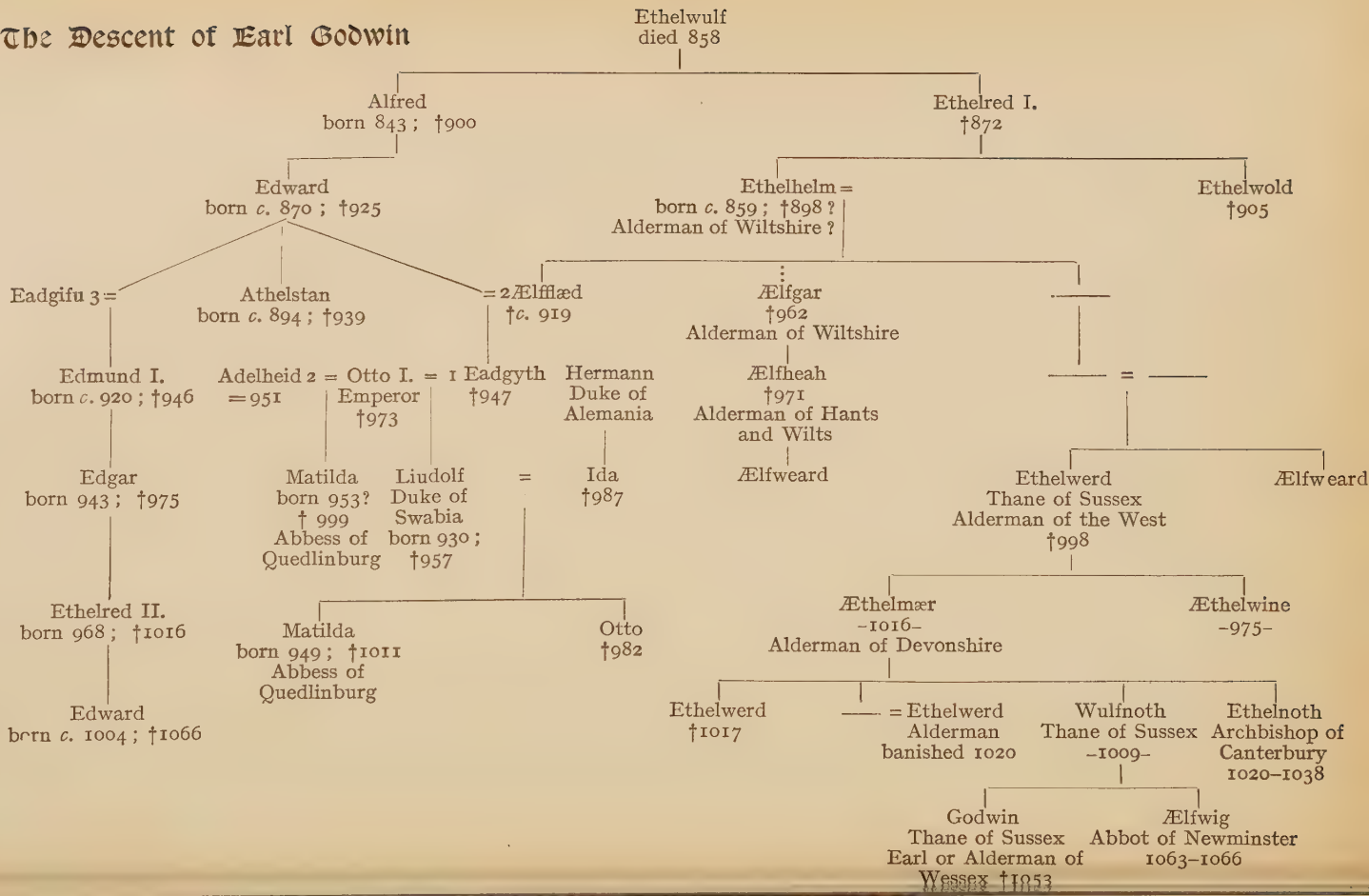
therefore, must be regarded as exact, and they indicate private ownership and not possession *ex officio*.

(3) On the particular point of ownership I have applied to the Rev. Prebendary Deedes, of Chichester, and he has informed me that he does not think there is a tittle of evidence that Bosham ever belonged to the see of Canterbury. It is not named in Domesday Book in the section 'Terra Archiepiscopi.' But in the section 'Terra Osberni Episcopi' we read that 'Osbernus Episcopus tenuit de rege ecclesiam de Boseham, et de rege Edwardo tenuit.' This implies that King William had confirmed to Bishop Osbern those ecclesiastical rights which the bishops of Crediton possessed in Bosham in the reign of King Edward. Osbern himself did not become bishop till 1072. These considerations tend to prove that the only foundation for the story about *basium* and Boseham is a corrupt pun.

The reason why the bishops of Crediton held ecclesiastical rights at Bosham in the see of Chichester is not difficult to assign. Archbishop Æthelnoth's father, the nobleman Æthelmær, was Alderman of Devonshire, or 'Domnaniae Comes.' Æthelmær's father Ethelwerd, also, was 'Occidentalium provinciarum dux,' *i.e.* Alderman of the Western Shires: K. 698, A.D. 997. This suggests that the rights over the church of Bosham in Sussex which were possessed by the bishops of Crediton, the 'Domnaniae praesules,' as Florence calls them, originated in a gift or bequest made either by Ethelwerd, Thane of Sussex, and subsequently Alderman of the Western Shires, or by his son Æthelmær, Alderman of Devonshire.

I append a table showing the descent of Earl Godwin from King Ethelwulf.

The Descent of Earl Godwin



SOME MERCENARIES OF HENRY OF LANCASTER, 1327–1330.

By V. B. REDSTONE, F.R.Hist.S.

Read April 17, 1913

THERE are three sources, distinct in character, which supply materials whereby historians may be able to study the military characteristics of the period under discussion. The authentic Government records, existing either in printed form, as Palgrave's 'Writs,' Rymer's 'Foedera,' 'Statutes of the Realm,' and the like, or among the vast mass of original documents still lying unpublished in the Public Record Office, show the conditions of military service under the King. Numerous chronicles, as those of Geoffrey le Baker, 'Annales Londonienses' and others, the works of partisan clerks or monks, which form the second source, give a prejudiced and often an exaggerated account of the movements of Lancaster, Mortimer and the King, marked by an inaccuracy which was doubtless due to the writers' dependence upon second-hand information. The third source is that which has recently been made more accessible, though not to the extent which may be desired, by the publication of various local records in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners and of such useful works as the 'Calendars of the City of London Letter Books' and Miss M. Bateson's 'Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Leicester.' This new source of historical facts has an advantage over the other two in that it deals with events chronicled at the very time of their occurrence, and also places on record, without comment, mere statements of facts, including also the personal evidence of the chief actors in, and originators of, the incidents under consideration. The great historical value of this third source calls

attention to the need for further publications of borough records such as the Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, a calendar of which Dr. Reginald Sharpe has now commenced. It is from these Memoranda Rolls, which contain letters from the King and from Henry of Lancaster, that the present paper attempts to throw new light upon the history of Mortimer's ascendency during the years 1327 to 1330.

From these Memoranda Rolls may be drawn, also, a better and more general idea of the character and action of the troops which Lancaster collected at the time of Edmund Earl of Kent's rebellion, 1330. As types of the English mercenaries, or hired soldiers of this period, special attention will be paid to Lancaster's captain, one John de Bedford,[1] citizen and skinner of London, and to one of Bedford's men-at-arms or horse-soldiers, John Chaucer by name, who sometimes figures in the events hereafter recorded as John Heyron, and is none other than John Chaucer, brother of Thomas Heyron, whom the late Professor Skeat erroneously identified with the father of the poet Chaucer.

A modern historian rightly warns us, when we are considering the origin of what are now settled and well-established political conditions, not to strive to establish a definite date for changes which must necessarily have been of gradual growth. The displacement of the feudal levy by hired troops occupied several centuries in the military history of England. The mercenary came to the fore in the second half of the twelfth century. He was the product of a series of wars carried on at long distances from the homes of the barons, wars in which it was impossible to rely solely on the services of the feudal levy, and just as tenants of the Crown compounded for their personal service by paying a sum which the Marshalsea and Scutage rolls of the early fourteenth century fix generally as two marks for each knight's fee, so the sub-tenant also would compound with his mesne lord for military service due.

[1] P.R.O. *Mem. Roll*, 24 *Ed. III.* m. 16; *Exchq. Accts.* 18/7.

Although the compulsory training of youths in the use of arms, first adopted in the days of King Edgar, was still obligatory when all males between the ages of fifteen and sixty years were required to serve in defence of their land against invasion, yet the peasant, the artisan, and the trader served in arms only to protect their homes or the immediate neighbourhood from pillage, destruction, or plunder. Theirs was not the ambition for conquest, since by distant campaigning they lost the comforts of a home, dear to an Englishman.

Fighting was the profession or calling of magnates and scions of the royal house, who grew to be more dangerous as the acquisition of great fiefs by royal grant, or by intermarriage, enabled them to support a retinue of hired soldiers better equipped and more skilful in the use of arms than the ordinary retainer. Constant training was necessary then, as now, to make a capable soldier, and only by making a profession of fighting could a man obtain proficiency in the use of arms.

It was after the days of Bannockburn, but before the days of Cressy, that the English archer had become the professional soldier, willing to follow any lord, not as a pressed man, but as a volunteer. The bow was the Englishman's favourite weapon, and he sought every opportunity to improve his aim. The city apprentices, forbidden in the days of Edward II to practise fencing, practised archery by making butts of sparrows perching on the roof of St. Paul's Cathedral.[1] A contemporary inventory in the Pipe Roll for 1327 of the weapons in the Tower mentions bows of wood and bone and Turkish bows, introduced in the time of the Crusades.

The London citizen was exempt from serving in arms beyond the City walls, yet from the sheer love of fighting and from the desire for adventure many Londoners promptly answered the call to arms, and were found fighting at Lewes, at the siege of Leeds Castle, and at all the chief

[1] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. 7, n. 9.

engagements fought in Wales and Scotland under the Plantagenet Edwards. London furnished from among its restless spirits and masterless men not only the hired archer or crossbowman, who was a foot-soldier, but also mercenary horsemen. These served in companies placing themselves under a captain when hired to fight for the King or any great lord, but they had little or no sense of discipline, and acted each for himself when called upon to perpetrate some daring and illegal deed. Thus, some of the hired troops which John de Bedford led to Newcastle [1] in the name of Edward III, in 1327, to fight against the Scots, were the same men who accompanied Lancaster to make a demonstration against royal authority in the following year. Moreover, four soldiers (of whom John Chaucer was one), belonging to the same troop, were concerned in 1328 in a deed of personal violence, viz. the kidnapping of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, who was seized at the instigation and with the support of the then mayor of London, 1328.[2]

Later in the reign, King Edward III commanded the mayor to press into the service of the war in Scotland any man capable of bearing arms and to imprison all such as refused. John de Bedford and his fellow captains pressed into their ranks those youths and apprentices who, they thought, would make useful soldiers. Hawkwood, the famous leader of the White Company, when apprenticed to a London tanner, was pressed to become a soldier.[3] To swell still further the number of hired soldiers engaged in the Scotch wars, felons, outlaws, and murderers were pardoned.[4] It is not surprising to read of frequent complaints that these recruits, upon the receipt of their conduct-money, deserted; or that hirelings, meeting baron or lord who offered greater remuneration for their services,

[1] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. ix.

[2] P.R.O. *Assize Roll*, 2–3 *Edw. III*, No. 551, m. 2.

[3] *Story of a Condottiere*, by Temple-Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti, trans. by Leader Scott, p. 9.

[4] *Parl. Writs*, vol. ii.

quitted the ranks of the City men in the King's service to serve elsewhere. The muster feast at Smithfield and the two shillings earnest money received at 'La Barnet' were not sufficient to keep with the colours men who lacked any very definite sense of loyalty or national patriotism.

We can easily imagine, therefore, that at times the City of London experienced great difficulty in furnishing the muster of men required. The delay to find soldiers to march to Newcastle[1] under John de Bedford was so great that a writ was issued commanding the Treasurer of the Exchequer to advance as much money towards the wages of the men as was necessary to hasten on the progress of this detachment. The pay received by a man-at-arms was 12*d.* a day, by a hobbler 6*d.* a day, by a *janitor* 4*d.*, by a *vigilator* 3*d.*, and by a foot-soldier 2*d.* For the war in Scotland a tallage was levied in the City to provide troops for the King, but some citizens preferred to serve in person or to send their apprentices in their stead.[2] Henry Darcy served himself and found six other men to make up the deficiency in the return made by his ward. Men who were called upon to serve, or else to provide an armed man, and neglected to do either, were fined a sum of fifty shillings. Upon the occasion of the levy in 1327, the East part of the City of London provided 147 men, and the West part 140 men. A levy made in the county of Essex for the same war was raised by the several hundreds, each of which supplied a company of twenty men, called a vintaine.[3] Bedford's men for this expedition were also divided into vintaines; each division was placed under a 'vintiner,' who received 6*d.* a day when the men under him were only receiving 4*d.* a day.

Bedford found great difficulty in obtaining from the

[1] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. ix; *Cal. Letter Book* F, p. 206; P.R.O. *Mem. Roll*, 24 *Edw. III*, m. 16.

[2] *City Mem. Roll* A III, m. 20.

[3] P.R.O. *Scutage Roll*, 2 *Edw. III.*

Exchequer money due for the wages of the men whom he himself raised. More than twenty years later, i.e. in 1350, a writ of *certiorari* was sent to the mayor and sheriffs of London for a return to be made into the Exchequer of the particulars concerning the armed force which was alleged to have been dispatched under John de Bedford to the King at Stanhope in 1327 and of disbursements made by him on that account. A return was made to the effect that the rolls had been searched, and it had been found that, at the King's command, 100 men-at-arms and 100 footmen had been sent by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City to Scotland in aid of the war, each armed man receiving for wages 100*s*., and, further, that John de Bedford was their leader. He had in his company, besides the aforesaid contingent, 100 men-at-arms and 160 archers who received nothing from the City. The result of the investigation was the gift to Bedford of £10 in part payment of the wages for his men who had served in the ranks sixty-four days. The Exchequer roll[1] dealing with this payment gives the daily wage of Bedford's mercenary troop as follows :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
70 men-at arms at 12*d*. a day . .	3	10	0
30 hobblers at 6*d*. a day . . .		15	0
164 archers at 3*d*. a day . . .	2	1	0
Total . . .	6	6	0

Therefore, the then large total sum of £403 4*s*. had been withheld from Bedford, the London skinner, for twenty years. It is interesting to note that John Chaucer, who then served Bedford as a man-at-arms, received a shilling a day.

But payment had likewise not been made to John de Hainault for the hire of his mercenaries from Flanders on two occasions, viz. when he assisted Queen Isabella

[1] P.R.O. *Excheq. K. R.* 18/7. See also *Mem. Roll* 24 *Edw. III*, m. 16.

and her son against the Despensers, and when he joined in the war against Scotland. To him was due the sum of £54,946 19s. $2\frac{3}{4}d.$, which amount included the sum of £100 for the redemption of certain Hainaulters made prisoners by the Scots, for certain men wounded in the quarrel between the Flemings and Englishmen at York on Trinity Sunday, 1327, and for burial of the slain. There was no additional sum of money granted to Bedford for any prisoners, or slain or wounded men from among his troop, although it is not at all unlikely that his Londoners sided with the men from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, adjudged to have been the leaders of the English who slew the Hainaulters at York.

On Thursday, September 23, 1326, Queen Isabella (likened by the chronicler, Geoffrey le Baker, to Jezebel), accompanied by her son, Edward, and by John of Hainault with his men, took ship at Dordrecht, in Holland. After a rough passage the fleet of twenty ships cast anchor on the Friday, and the Hainaulters disembarked in the port of Orwell and camped at Walton. It is probable, seeing that the Queen and her company proceeded the next day as on a pilgrimage to Bury St. Edmund's, that the landing took place at Walton by Felixstowe in the Colneis Hundred of Suffolk, and not, as has often been suggested, at Walton-on-Naze. Thomas de Bavent, who had been commissioned by Edward II to march his Suffolk levies to the shores of the Orwell, made no defence of the coast at that spot. At Bury St. Edmund's the Abbot presented the Queen with the sum of 800 marks, which she dispensed among her followers. After staying several days with the Canons of Barnwell, she visited Baldock and Dunstable, and then went south to London. There an oath was taken before the aldermen of the various wards in support of Isabella and her son against Hugh Dispenser, Robert de Baldock, and others.[1]

It is at this point that the Memoranda Rolls of the

[1] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. 2.

City of London begin to record the history of events. Proclamation was made for the restoration of order after the murder of the Bishop of Exeter and John de Charlton, mayor of the Staple of merchants, by a London mob headed by Robert de Hatfield. Proclamation was also made that the several strangers who were come into the country in company of the Queen and her son to aid, succour, and save the land, were to be treated with courtesy. Victuallers were encouraged to return to their houses so that proper respect might be shown to the Queen. Entry is next made within the rolls of the names of all who took the oath of allegiance to the new King on the occasion of his coronation. Lancaster's name does not appear on this list, but that of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's does appear.

Factious strife and party spirit were high in the City; riffelers [1] plundered the houses. It is remarkable that all of those who were tried for offences committed at the time of the coronation were members of Bedford's troop of mercenaries. Walter Turk and Andrew Pikeman had made a conspiracy to force Thomas Caxton, butcher, to sell a shoulder of mutton for 1½*d.*, or to die; Mathew Palmer and Gratian his brother extorted by means of threats the sum of £40 from Sir Thomas West, Knt.; while John de Bedford himself, with Thomas de Chigwell and others of his men, compelled Sir Richard de Stapleton, Knt., to save his life by the payment of £100. As the knight had not this money in cash to pay his captors, he granted to them instead his manor of Edmonton. To overawe these plunderers many were seized and hanged upon the King's gallows at The Elms, near Tyburn.[2]

[1] 'Et tempore istius Archiepiscopi (Walter Reginald) fuit tempus *Ryfflariorum* London in dicta civitate et extra circumquaque . . .' Birchington's *Vitæ Archiep' Cant'*. (*Anglia Sacra*). From this reference it would appear that the name was especially applied to a certain definite outbreak of ruffianism in London and elsewhere in the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

[2] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. 16, n. 19. '. . . homines suspensi ad furcas domini Regis, videlicet apud le Elmes, prope Tybourne.' One of these men was a John le Hosyere.

Uproar and riot prevailed at that time in most towns. Disagreement had arisen between the abbot and burgesses of Bury St. Edmund's. On St. Luke's Day, 1327, when several of the townsfolk, with their wives and children, were assembled in the parish church for divine service, many evil malicious monks rushed among them with drawn swords and other weapons, violently assaulting the worshippers, whom they sought to imprison within the building.[1] Those men who escaped from the church summoned the rest of the burgesses to their aid to release their friends. So great was the riot that the greater part of the abbey was destroyed by fire, and with difficulty the church itself was saved. The aldermen of the town wrote to the mayor and aldermen of London and solicited advice as to the best course to pursue for restoring order.

Hamo de Chigwell, an aider and abettor of John de Bedford and his men, was then mayor of London. Of him it was stated by John de Cotun, alderman of Walbrook Ward, that for twenty years since he, Chigwell, had come into the City there had been no peace and order. 'It were well,' said Cotun, 'if the mayor were beheaded.'[2] Such was the man to whom the burgesses of Bury St. Edmund's applied for counsel; and this the sequence, if not the result, of their application.

On the Monday before St. Luke's Day, 1328, four of Bedford's company, which had been disbanded on its return from Newcastle, September 8, 1328, viz. John Chaucer, Richard de Farnham, cordewainer, Ralph de Tornham and Ralph de Merk, fishmongers, with the help of John de Berton, late alderman of Bury St. Edmund's, and other men of the same town, seized the abbot and carried him off to London. They entered London by Crepulgate and conveyed their prisoner to the house of another of Bedford's men, one John Cotterel, of Wood Street. There the abbot was stripped

[1] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. vi (8) dors.

[2] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. xxiii (27) dors. Cotun denied the accusation 'jurando super corpus Christi.'

of his clerical garments and was clad in the coarse clothes of the shoemaker. When night fell they took him to the house of a comrade, William de Kingston, in Friday Street, where he received hospitable entertainment at the instigation of one of their leaders, Thomas de Chigwell, a near kinsman of the mayor. The following day the abbot was removed to the house of Ralph de Tornham, whence, when the opportunity presented itself, the prisoner was shipped to Holland. The judicial investigations [1] which followed these proceedings show that the act was not for plunder, as stated by chroniclers.

Then a writ from the King warned the mayor and sheriffs of London that, out of the frequent quarrels of divers persons, several malefactors and disturbers of the peace had bound themselves together, lying in waiting for the justices of the King's Bench and clerks of the Exchequer. For these and other reasons the King's Bench was removed from London to York.

Great discord arose upon the election of a new mayor. In the council chamber the opposing factions cried aloud, 'Fulsham! Fulsham!' or 'Chigwell! Chigwell!' Throughout the night partisan cries were heard for Benedict de Fulsham, the King's butler. The commotion ceased upon the withdrawal of the two candidates, when John de Grantham was elected.

There was sitting at the same time, October 16 to 31, 1328, the Parliament at Salisbury, which was broken up by Mortimer and an armed force. A letter [2] from Henry of Lancaster, dated Hungerford, November 5, 1328, gives an explanation of the affairs with words to this effect:—

We have been to Winchester, having communicated to the Parliament all our good intention in the most obedient manner, as we were best able; and we could not get a hearing; and we

[1] A writ was issued, dated New Sarum, October 20, 1328, commanding the institution of inquiries. *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. 29. Also P.R.O. *Assize Roll* 551, m. 2, 2–3 Edw. III.

[2] *City Mem. Roll* A I, m. xxiv (28) dors. *See* Appendix B.

were prepared to have done all that was possible for the honour of our sovereign lord the King and the advancement of his estate. Those who are about the King have prorogued Parliament to London, not wishing that we should attend. Our cousin, the Earl of Kent, has told us things which we cannot tell you by letter, but of which the bearers hereof will inform you by word of mouth. By the advice and counsel of the bishops and of the Earl of Kent we have departed towards our own lands in the manner of which the bearer of this letter will tell you on our behalf. You know that we desire nothing so much as the welfare of the King and of our country, and we wish you so to behave as we trust entirely in your loyalty.

It is clear from this letter that Henry of Lancaster was implicated in, or was at least cognisant of, the plot of Edmund, Earl of Kent, to restore Edward II to the throne if he were then living.

A previous letter[1] had been received from the King requesting to be informed of particulars touching a visit to the City made by Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Wake, emissaries of Lancaster. To this letter reply was sent that the prelate and Sir Thomas Wake had proceeded to the Guildhall to talk over affairs of the State, but that the discussion was held in the presence of the King's bachelors, Oliver de Ingham and Bartholomew de Burghersh, and that all present expressed an earnest desire for the safety of the realm.

News had reached the City of the King's displeasure because there had gone forth from London a body of armed horsemen in the company of Henry of Lancaster, to the terror of the country through which they passed. It was, however, asserted by the mayor and aldermen that no horse-soldiers had left the City by their order or to their knowledge, and should any be found to have quitted the City under those conditions such punishment would be meted out to them as they deserved.

Then followed a letter[2] from the King, dated from

[1] *City Mem. Roll*, A I, m. xxiii (27) dors. [2] *Ibid.* xxxi.

Gloucester, December 16, 1328, explaining the cause of the dispute with Lancaster. It stated that Sir Ralph Bassett and Sir William de Clynton had been sent with a message to the Earl, reminding him of his presence at the Parliament held at Northampton, where he gave his advice upon the question as to Edward's claim to the French crown and as to whether two bishops should be sent to France to set forth the claim. He was further reminded of his assent given to the election of the Bishops of Chester and Winchester as the prelates to be sent on that occasion. Moreover, with his knowledge, justices were set over various counties. He had also consented to stay near the King as his adviser, but had removed himself from the Court; and subsequently, coming to Edward at Warwick, had promised to attend the Council at which it was agreed to send troops to restore order in Guienne, and to summon the next Parliament to be held at Salisbury. When, however, the young King was proceeding from London to Salisbury in company with the Earls of Lincoln and Norfolk, Lancaster appeared in sight with a company of armed retainers, much to the annoyance of the monarch, who heard from Lancaster's own mouth that, in spite of the Statute of Northampton, he intended to go to the Parliament at Salisbury with a number of armed men. In the meanwhile (so the letter runs) Lancaster had sent the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Wake to London to complain of the aliens and evil counsellors who surrounded Edward, and of the heavy debts and unpaid bills which followed the progress of the King's Court throughout the land. Rumours of these complaints had reached Rome and the French King's Court, to the great damage of the English King and nation. Then the Earl had assembled his levies at Higham Ferrers and had marched towards the King, who was riding from Canterbury to London. To avoid meeting Lancaster the King turned aside from his journey and joined the company of Queen Isabella, staying with her till Salisbury was reached. Lancaster sent forward the Bishops of London and Win-

chester with letters, excusing his absence from Salisbury, and complaining of the alliance made by Mortimer with Scotland. Upon the breaking up of the Parliament at Salisbury the King returned to Winchester. Thither came Lancaster with a great force of horse and foot soldiers, whom he assembled in front of the King's lodgings. The sheriff of Southampton was ordered to arrest all who were found in arms, but the Earl's men under Sir Thomas Wake, and his Londoners under John de Bedford, were too formidable a force for the sheriff's men to arrest. Lancaster had gone to his lands, which Mortimer was ravaging. At Bedford, January 13, 1329, the Earl, deserted by the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, made his submission, and John de Bedford's Londoners, not six hundred strong as stated by Geoffrey le Baker, but never exceeding one hundred in number, returned to their homes.

When Edward left Winchester he sent from Reading a letter to the mayor and aldermen of London, desiring them to send twelve citizens to him at Windsor to confer with him upon the state of the City. For the safe conduct of business and to enable the selection of delegates to be unanimous, a meeting was held at the Guildhall in the early hours of the morning. The delegates with the mayor stayed three days at Windsor, and were then ordered to return to London and to ask the whole commonalty whether they would punish the disturbers of the King's peace and those who had latterly ridden forth against the King to Winchester and Bedford with the Earl of Lancaster. The King promised to aid the City if necessary, and the messengers were to return to him on the following day, Wednesday, February 1, 1329, to give the City's reply.

Immediately after the mayor's return to London an inquiry was held into the matter. Persons duly chosen returned to the King as commanded and brought back his orders, which they communicated to the mayor and commonalty on the Saturday following. John de Grantham, the mayor, sat with the other justices appointed in the King's

name. These were notable supporters of Mortimer against Lancaster. They considered the business for two whole days before the King came to the Tower with Queen Isabella. John Cotterel was tried and sentenced on the next day for his share in the kidnapping of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's. Hamo de Chigwell, the late mayor, was convicted of having received two silver dishes (*bacinos*). He was committed to the Tower.

In the returns [1] made to the Exchequer of the names of those who rode out from the City under John de Bedford, entry is made of the imprisonment of several of his men. From the Patent Rolls we learn that special attention was paid to his arrest, and to the arrest of Thomas de Chigwell, John 'Heyron,' and other men conspicuous in the late disturbances. Their imprisonment was not of long duration; the fall of Mortimer brought them pardon and the restitution of their goods.

At an even earlier date John de Bedford and several of his mercenaries received a general pardon for their adherence to those in rebellion against the King, provided that they did not come within twelve leagues of the City.

We must not accept too literally the immediate punishment of blindness which Stowe and more recent writers [2] state fell upon Henry of Lancaster for his opposition to Mortimer, as is suggested by the chronicler, Geoffrey le Baker, nor are we to believe him, aged and blind, to have tossed his cap into the air when he is said to have shouted for joy on hearing the report of Mortimer's execution.[3] In fact he continued to serve the King faithfully in Scotland as a leader of men ten years after his rival's downfall.[4]

[1] *Misc. of the Exchequer*, 4/27, 4/28.

[2] *Political History of England*, by T. F. Tout, vol. iii, chap. xiv, p. 299.

[3] *The Seven Edwards*, by K. A. Patmore, p. 92.

[4] *Exchq. Accts.*, 15/2. Men-at-arms with Henry of Lancaster, Sept. 8, 10 Edw. III, and remaining at Stirling with the said Earl, Sept. 8–Nov. 12, 10 Edw. III.

In the short space allowed to this paper I have sought to indicate very briefly, from sources which have recently come to light, Henry of Lancaster's movements and policy for the years immediately following the coronation of Edward III ; to show also that by the necessities and circumstances of the times the English soldier had become a mercenary ; and incidentally that the John Chaucer,[1] brother of Thomas Heyron, was an active soldier at the time when his step-brother, John Chaucer, otherwise John Malyn, of Ipswich (who may have been the father of the poet), was but a lad between the ages of twelve and fourteen years,[2] unable to bear arms.

APPENDIX A.

Memoranda Roll, A I. membr. vi (8) dorso, City of London Corporation Records.

Letter from the Aldermen of Bury St. Edmunds.

A treshoñable ħome et sage et lour tresch̄ seign^r si lui plest le mair de Loundres et as Audrāns et autres bones et sages de ladite Citee le Audreman et les Burgeys de la ville de Seint Eadmon reverences et touz hon's alour poer en totes choses p'etz a vos volentez et a vos comandementz. Enp^iantz de vr'e eydes et conseil dun g^ant mescheance q̄ no^o est auenutz p malice mauueisteez des faux et mauueys moygnes mescreauntz No^o s'querantz p^r felonie de homicide et mltz des autres malices et felonies p faire compassement ꝑpense q̄ le iour de seint Leuk^o mltz de nos bones gentz et femes et leur enfaunts essteantz en seint eglise p^r ſuice de dieux oir, la vindrent les dis faux mescreants moignes oue lour espees et fauchons traites et as mesmes les gentz assaut firent et ptie de eux naufrerent issint q̄ a g^ant peyne ils eschapirent et ptie de eux de lour femmes et de lour enfauntz retindrent et enp^isoñent de deinz lour enclos issint

[1] Since this paper was read Mr. Jas. Young has pointed out to me an entry in *De Banco Roll*, 161, Mich., 34 *Edw. I*, m. 391d, which clearly shows that John Chaucer, who joined the troops of Henry of Lancaster, was the son of Mary, the wife of Robert Chaucer, by her first husband, John Heyron. John Chaucer, brother of Thomas Heyron, was therefore born before the year 1310.

[2] *Coram Rege Roll*, Hilary, 19 Edw. II, No. 263, m. 13.

q̄ nul ħome ne les poeit apcher et nos gentz q̄ vindrent p^r lour fem̄es et lour enfaunts demaunder p setes p peres et p engins les tuerent a g^a^nt noumbre p quel affray tote le co\u0303une leuaa et l^a occision des gentz qils virent a g^a^nt chace de lour mauueisteez les mistrent a fee [feu?] et a flaume et ount ars g^a^nt ptie de lour Abbeye, mes ala grace de dieux la eglise est sauue e mꝫt est estaunche p eyde de la Co\u0303une et auxint de les moygnes q̄ sont rendus a la pees de esteer a chescuny agard : Dount no^o^ vo^o^ p^i^oms de vos eydes et de vos conseilles com no^o^ affi.oms de vo^o^, com Comune deit affier dautre. Et vo^o^ p^i^oms q̄ nr̄e droit voilletz meyteñ auxint com no^o^ sumes p'st de vivre et morir p vr̄e droit com chescune Co\u0303une doit p Autre q̄ nr̄e querele est la vr̄e et la vr̄e la nr̄e. [A.D. 1327]

APPENDIX B.

Letter from Henry of Lancaster, 5 Nov. 1328.

City Mem. Roll, A I. membr. xxiv (28) dorso.

Henr' Counte de Lancastre et de Leycestre Seneschal Dengletr̄e au meire et les Audr̄ans et la Communalte de la Citee de Loundres salutz et bon amour. Sauoir vo^o^ fesoms q̄ no^o^ auoms este a Wyncestr̄ et auyens maunde deus le plement tote nr̄e bone entenc̄on en la plus obeissante maꝺe q̄ no^o^ sauyoms et poioms et riens ne poyoms estre oy ; et fuismes en alaunt laundreit p auoir mis tote le bien q̄ no^o^ purriens al hoñ nr̄e seign^r^ le Roi et al amendement de son estat ; et s^r^ ceo ceux q̄ sont entour nr̄e dit seign^r^ le Roi auoyent fait continuance du plement tanq a Loundres p^r^ ceo qil ne vodreient q̄ no^o^ ny fuissens venuz, et p' nr̄e tresch̄ Cosyn le Counte de Kent no^o^ vynt dire ascunes choses, les queles no^o^ ne vo^o^ pooms pleynement mander p tre, mes auons chargez nos amez valletz portours de cestes de les vo^o^ dire de bouche issint q p auys et conseil des P'lats et de nr̄e dit Cosyn sumes ales deus nr̄e pays en la maꝺe qil vo^o^ diront dep no^o^ ; p quei no^o^ vo^o^ p^i^oms cr̄ement q̄ desicom vo^o^ sauez q̄ no^o^ desiroms sur tote rien lon^r^ et le pfit de nr̄ seign^r^ le Roi et le co\u0303un bien de la tr̄e, sicom no^o^ vo^o^ auoms moustree, q̄ vo^o^ vo^o^ voillez en ceo la tenir sicom no^o^ fioms entierement de vr̄e loialte Adieu q̄ vo^o^ gard Done a Hungreford le q'nt iour de novembr̄ [A.D. 1328]

SIDE-LIGHTS UPON THE ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION OF THE MEDIÆVAL SUBSIDIES.

By Professor JAMES F. WILLARD, Ph.D.

Read June 19, 1913.

ONE of the most striking phenomena of the financial history of the thirteenth century was the introduction and the rapid increase in use of the principle of national direct taxation of personal property. In the first half of that century the successor of the danegeld, the carucage, was dropped from the financial system; scutages as well as the other feudal dues were proving to be difficult to collect; and it remained to develop new methods of raising a revenue. The new principle of direct taxation of personal property was shown to be both workable and remunerative during the reign of Henry III, and it was seized upon with avidity by Edward I during the financial strain caused by his wars with Wales and France. During the fourteenth century the lay subsidies, as such taxes may be called, were levied frequently whenever there was a special need.

The new kind of tax had several marked characteristics by which it may be recognised. It was, in the first place, levied upon all the people, bond and free, without distinction of status in society or tenure of landholding;[1] it was a tax upon personal property, upon movables according to the technical language of the mediæval officials; and it was a grant of a proportional share, a ninth, a tenth, a twentieth of the value of such movables for the use

[1] During the fourteenth century the clergy granted taxes in convocation and there was a separation between clerical and lay subsidies. Yet, even then, they were taxed with the laymen for personal property upon temporal lands acquired since 20 Edward I, the date of the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.

of the government. From its beginnings it was always an extraordinary tax, requiring the assent of a national assembly, a council or parliament, before it could be imposed upon the nation.

After passing through a period of uncertain experimentation, the new tax acquired a recognised standing in the mediæval financial system owing to the use made of it by Henry III. Four such subsidies were levied during his reign, an average of one in approximately fourteen years.[1] Edward I, however, seems to have realised the manifold advantages of the principle and made far more use of it. There were nine such subsidies levied during his reign, an average of one in a little less than four years.[2] When he was at war with the French and Welsh the new form of taxation was his most remunerative source of revenue. The dates of the grants are instructive. Such subsidies were granted in 1275, 1283, and 1290; then, when the strain became greater, in 1294, 1295, 1296, and 1297. The remaining two subsidies were granted in 1301 and 1306.

During the reign of Henry III the same proportion of the value of their personal goods was demanded from the inhabitants of the rural districts as from the dwellers in the urban centres. This precedent was followed in the first three subsidies of the following reign. In 1294, however, the practice was begun of differentiating between the rural and urban districts. The tax of that year was a sixth and tenth. From the men of the cities, boroughs, and ancient demesne a sixth part of their movables was demanded, while from the men of the rural districts, with the exception of those living on ancient demesne land, was demanded only the tenth part of their goods. The plan of separating the rates was followed in three of the

[1] A fifteenth (1225), a fortieth (1232), a thirtieth (1237), and a twentieth (1270).

[2] A fifteenth (1275), a thirtieth (1283), a fifteenth (1290), a tenth and sixth (1294), an eleventh and seventh (1295), a twelfth and eighth (1296), a ninth (1297), a fifteenth (1301), and a thirtieth and twentieth (1306).

five subsidies levied during the remainder of Edward's reign.

To Edward II seven subsidies were granted, in all but two of which the plan of differentiating between town and country was followed.[1] The first subsidy of the reign of Edward III, that of 1327, was a twentieth of movables; the second, a fifteenth and tenth; then the methods of assessment and collection which had been developing for over one hundred years gave place to a new plan.

In 1334 there was a considerable amount of complaint made of the alleged corrupt practices used in the collection of the subsidy of 1332. This agitation led to an investigation of the charges and to a special form of assessment and collection for the subsidy of 1334.[2] The assessment took this form: royal commissioners were sent to the various units of taxation, usually the townships and boroughs, and there entered into an agreement with the people of those districts upon the sum to be paid by them to the King for the fifteenth and tenth. These investigations, added to the evidence gathered elsewhere, showed all too clearly that the charges of corruption were well founded. When, therefore, in 1336, the next subsidy was granted, Parliament demanded and the King agreed that the fifteenth and tenth of that year should be of the same amount as that of the newly and justly assessed tax of 1334.[3] Whenever such taxes were granted thereafter, the same principle was adhered to, the standard in each case being the subsidy next preceding the present grant. Barring exemptions or special re-assessments for cause, within each county the amount paid by every township and borough remained the same as that agreed upon in

[1] A twentieth and fifteenth (1307), a twenty-fifth (1309), a twentieth and fifteenth (1313), a twentieth and fifteenth (1315), a sixteenth and fifteenth (1316), an eighteenth and twelfth (1319), and a tenth and sixth (1322).

[2] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 447–448.

[3] *Fine Roll*, No. 136 (10 Edward III), m. 17. The writs are dated April 7, 1336.

1334, as long as the fifteenths and tenths, in this form, persisted. The official documents speak of proportional rates, but the fact was that there was no necessary relationship between the amount of personal property held by any individual and the sum that he paid to the collector of the subsidy. A grant of a fifteenth and tenth by Parliament meant that the government would receive, sooner or later, approximately £38,000, that being about the value of the subsidy of 1334.

This brief description of the increasing importance of the new tax has paved the way for a discussion of the methods of its assessment and collection. In order to avoid dealing with the long period during which the principle of direct taxation of movables was still largely in the experimental stage, or with that of the new system which came into being after 1334, this discussion will be limited to the period 1290–1332.

Immediately after a tax upon movables was granted by Parliament, several men were appointed for each county to take charge of the assessment and collection of the tax. These were known as the chief or head taxors and collectors. With the writ notifying them of their appointment there were sent certain formal directions as to the manner of this assessment and collection. These were called the 'form' of the taxation. From this form it is possible to gain a knowledge of what the duties of the assessors and collectors were.

The general principle used in the assessment of personal property was the same throughout the period under discussion, this principle being that such property should be valued by juries, composed of men selected from the local districts directly concerned. All movables, unless they were specifically exempted, were to be valued, and every man, unless he was specially excused, was to pay to the subsidy in proportion to the assessed valuation of his property.

The details of the plan, however, underwent certain

changes during the period. According to the formal instructions issued from 1290 to 1296, the head taxors were to summon before them from every hundred in the county to which they were assigned the most important men.[1] Of these they were to cause to be chosen a jury of twelve for each hundred, and these juries, assisted by the reeve and four men from each township, were to make the assessment. Such were the directions given to the head taxors. In practice there seems to have been a fairly strict observance of these instructions. On the rolls of the taxation that have been preserved the hundred juries of twelve men are everywhere in evidence, but the local juries of assistance vary in number from two to four men, and the reeve is very infrequently mentioned. There is something historically fascinating to modern students in the references made by official documents of the thirteenth century to the reeve and four men of the townships, but the men of the thirteenth century do not seem to have been equally impressed.

In 1297 and thereafter, with the exception of the year 1306, the jury of twelve was abandoned and the local assessment was placed in the hands of two or more men of the townships and boroughs.[2] These men were, according to the instructions issued in 1297 and 1301, to be chosen by the men of the local districts; after the latter date it was directed that they should be selected by the chief taxors. Though the writs stated that there was to be a group of assessors for each township, in practice the local unit of assessment varied to suit local convenience. The normal unit was the township, but in some counties the hundred was used, as in Sussex, or groups of townships,

[1] The formal instructions to the collectors may be found in Vincent, *Lancashire Lay Subsidies*, i. 177–178 (1290), 181–182 (1294), 188 (1295), 192 (1296).

[2] The instructions may be found in Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, i. 62–63 (1297), 105 (1301), 179 (1306); *ibid.* II. ii. 15–16 (1307), 39 (1309), 117–118 (1313), 163, 164–165 (1316), 213 (1319), 279–280 (1322); *Rot. Parl.* ii. 426–427 (1327), 447 (1332). The instructions of the year 1315 are found on *L.T.R. Originalia Roll*, No. 75 (8 Edward II), mm. 29, 30.

as was frequently the case in Shropshire, Berkshire, and elsewhere, or even manors, as in Somersetshire.[1]

The local assessors, called also sub-taxors or sub-assessors, were directed to make a house-to-house canvass in order to settle upon the personal property each man had in his possession on the day named in the 'form' of the taxation. This was usually Michaelmas Day. The sale or destruction of property subsequent to that date, if it happened that the assessors reached a man's house later, was not to excuse anyone from the valuation. The assessors were not to value for the subsidy the goods of any person who did not possess a certain minimum amount of movables, and they were to omit from their assessment various kinds of movables belonging to everyone.[2] The minimum amount of property to be taxed was so fixed that the poor men of the country should not be burdened with taxation. This minimum was in 1290 fifteen shillings. From 1294 to 1297 inclusive it varied with the rate of the taxation, the tenth and sixth having ten shillings and six shillings respectively, the eleventh and seventh eleven shillings and seven shillings, and so on. There was no exemption of small holdings of property in 1301, this being the sole departure from the usual practice. After that date the minimum was ten shillings, with the exception of the years 1307, 1322, and 1332, when it varied from this standard. The list of exempted movables did not vary after the year 1290.[3] The following personal effects

[1] The practice in Sussex may be investigated in *Sussex Record Society*, volume x.; for Shropshire see *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society Trans.* 2nd Series, i. 129–200, iv. 287–338 etc.; for Berkshire see *Exchequer Lay Subsidy* $\frac{7}{9}$ (1327); and for Somersetshire see *Somerset Record Society*, volume iii. All of these examples are from rolls of the subsidy of 1327.

[2] The directions as to the minimum amount of goods to be taxed and the goods excused from taxation are found in the instructions referred to above.

[3] Since this paper was read I have found that in 1301 only the goods belonging to the knights, gentlemen and their wives, as described in this paragraph, were exempted. There was no list of exempted goods of the men of the cities. *K.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 75 (30 Edward I), m. 11*d*.

were to be excused in the rural districts: the armour, riding-horses, jewels and clothing of knights, gentlemen and their wives, and also their vessels of gold, silver, and brass. For the men living in the cities and boroughs the list of goods excused included a garment for a man and one for his wife, and a bed for the two; one ring, one clasp of silver or gold, and a girdle of silk, if these were in daily use; and a drinking-cup of silver or mazer.

There were also many special exemptions which had to be observed by the assessors and collectors. Because of poverty, fire or devastation, the property of individuals, of hospitals and abbeys, of townships and boroughs, and even of the men of a county were excused from taxation. There was one permanent exemption, always mentioned in the instructions. The goods of lepers who were under the rule of a master leper were pardoned all lay subsidies.

Having made their assessment, the local jurors set forth their returns on indented sheets of parchment, on which they stated the various kinds of property held by each man, the value of the same, and the amount that he owed to the government.[1] One of these lists they kept, the other they handed over to the chief taxors. The latter then reviewed the assessment and placed the names of the tax-payers, with the amount that each had to pay, upon long parchment rolls for the whole county. A copy of this county roll, the so-called roll of particulars, was sent to the Exchequer. Normally the Exchequer had no other check upon the county assessors and collectors but these rolls. Only when the government desired more detailed information, as, for example, when corruption was charged, were the local assessors' lists called in.

The money due on account of the subsidy was usually gathered by the local sub-taxors, handed over by them

[1] The following is the usual form, the example being taken from the assessment roll of Dunton, Bucks, for the tax of 1327: 'Henricus Mauntel habet in bonis ii. affros precii x s., ii. boves precii xii s., ii. vaccas precii x s., ii. quartaria frumenti precii v s., iii. quartaria avene precii iiii s., Summa xli s. Inde xx^{a} ii s., ob'. qa.'

to the chief taxors or their deputies, and by the latter accounted for at the exchequer.

Thus far the process of assessment has been described on the basis of the instructions given in the 'form' of the taxation. It is evident that at several points there was a chance for development outside of these formal instructions. In the first place, the phrase 'movable goods' was not clearly defined. It was directed that certain specified classes of movables were not to be assessed, but the government failed to state what the movables were that should be valued. In the second place, though it was clearly stated that all movables were to be valued, and though the chief taxors took an oath to justly tax all movables, and to spare no one,[1] the real work of assessment was placed in the hands of men who were resident in the local districts and, therefore, apt to regard a high valuation with great disfavour. Since the chief taxors had a large area to supervise and only a short time in which to make their revision of the assessment, the valuation accepted would, as a rule, be that of the sub-assessors. In the third place, the plan of assessment and collection made no provision for an adequate checking of the work of the head taxors. Given two or three dishonest county collectors, a subservient or dishonest clerk to make up the county roll, and a careful regard on the part of these men for the susceptibilities of the tax-payers, and it was only a matter of chance whether their peculations would be discovered. These three points will serve as illustrations of the possibilities of a study of the documents accessory to the writs sent out by the central government.

If one were asked to formulate a list of personal property that should have been in the possession of the men of the rural districts of England in the autumn of any year of the period under discussion, the task would not be a difficult one if taken in a general sense.

[1] Examples of the oath of the assessors may be found in Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, i. 24, 63, 105.

There would certainly be in most manors cattle of several kinds, various sorts of fowl, and several kinds of grain; there would be peas and beans, hay for the winter, and other farm products; and there would be the food in the larder, the household goods, and the farming implements of the lord of the manor and his tenants. Omit from this list the classes of goods officially excused, and it would not be materially shortened. Such would be an approximate list of movables framed by a student living in the twentieth century upon the basis of the instructions sent to the chief taxors; but the point at issue is, how did the assessors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries interpret the phrase 'movable goods' when they set about making their valuation?

For the investigation of this subject there remains a fair number of the local assessment rolls already mentioned. Excellent examples of such rolls may be found in print. Mr. Broun edited a series of these rolls for the subsidy of 1297 in the rural districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire.[1] The two Colchester assessment rolls for the subsidies of 1295 and 1301 are found in print in the 'Rotuli Parliamentorum.'[2] These local assessment lists show what movable goods were valued by the sub-taxors, the usual form of statement being that John has so many cows, value so much, so many oxen, value so much, so many quarters of wheat or rye, value so much, the sum being so many shillings and pence, whence the tenth, so much. Upon the basis of such detailed enumerations it is possible to tell what taxable movables were.

The rural assessment lists show a striking uniformity in the general classes of movables valued for taxation purposes, though in detail they varied according to the special

[1] *Yorkshire Archæological Society*, Record Series, xvi. There are many local assessment lists preserved in the Public Record Office, e.g. *Exchequer Lay Subsidies*, $\frac{237}{33}$ (Hereford, 1295), $\frac{71}{1}$, $\frac{71}{2}$, $\frac{71}{4}$, $\frac{71}{5}$, $\frac{71}{6}$ (Bedfordshire, 1297), $\frac{123}{4}$, $\frac{123}{5}$, $\frac{123}{6}$ (Kent, 1301), $\frac{242}{18}$ (Essex, 1309) etc.

[2] *Rot. Parl.* i. 228–238, 243–264.

kinds of property held in any one manor or group of manors. All kinds of domestic animals were assessed, horses, oxen, sheep, and swine, and all kinds of grain, wheat, barley, rye, and oats. Peas and beans were frequently enumerated. Hay was taxed in most townships. Some carts were taxed, and now and then the goods of the rural tanner or small artisan. The normal assessment list has on it only cattle, grain, peas or beans, and a little hay. Several classes of movables were, therefore, lacking: fowl were not taxed, food in the larder was not enumerated, and the household goods, clothing, and farming implements were not assessed. Movable goods, therefore, meant to the local rural assessor something quite different from what might be reasonably expected. It would be difficult, *a priori*, to frame a definition of movables that would not include these articles. Numerous local variations might be added to these. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, it has been noted by Mr. Broun that the amount of hay valued was extremely small. In the same district carts were valued in but three places. The same type of variation is found in other counties.

The assessment lists for the urban centres are in striking contrast with those framed by the rural sub-taxors. On the urban lists appear the domestic animals and farm produce of these half city, half farming communities. Alongside of these appear their household goods, their merchandise, their tools, the food in their larders, and their articles of luxury and dress. On the Colchester rolls there are enumerated beds and their coverlets, kitchen utensils of all kinds, clothing, rings, buckles, drinking-cups, bowls, merchandise, and many other articles. The other urban lists are similarly complete. In those more settled communities the definition of movables was, therefore, far more inclusive than it was in the country, but no such distinction is to be found in the instructions issued to the chief taxors between 1290 and 1332.

The broad line of demarcation thus established between

the rural and urban definitions of the term 'movables' was most assuredly due to some general custom not mentioned in the writs, for elsewhere in contemporary practice there seems to have been no such distinction between city movables and country movables. The basis of this custom is to be found in the past. Here is the list of movables of villeins exempted in 1225 : [1] the armour to which they were sworn, and their flesh, fish, drink, hay and forage which were not for sale. In 1283 the list of exempted goods of those who were neither merchants nor burgesses includes treasure, riding-horses, bedding, clothing, vessels, tools, geese, capons, hens, bread, wine, cider, beer, and all kinds of food ready for use.[2] After 1283 no such detailed list appears in the writs, but is it not a fair inference that there is in this practice of the past the basis of the custom which was followed in later years ?[3] The existence of such a custom would explain the absence of fowl, of food in the larder, and of household goods from the rural lists, and would also save the reputations of the sub-assessors. Being a custom, it would allow for numerous local variants. For example, may not the old practice of excluding from the assessment all hay which was not for sale have been observed with more generosity than strictness in a hay-producing district such as the West Riding of Yorkshire ? On the other hand, the fact that there was this differentiation between the rural and urban definitions of movables makes it extremely difficult to form any idea of the personal possessions of any man from the assessment rolls, or to make any mathematical calculations as to the correct valuation of such property.

It has been shown that not all kinds of movables were

[1] *Patent Rolls, Henry III*, i. 560–561.

[2] Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, i. 12.

[3] Since the above was read I have examined the article of Mr. James Tait on 'Waynagium and Contenementum' in the *English Historical Review*, xxvii. 720–728. It would appear that the custom I have described had a broader basis than I have given it, for the same practice seems to have been used with respect to amercements.

assessed in the rural districts at least, but the problem remains to be solved whether the assessors properly valued the movables that were taxed. It is also fair to inquire whether they included in their valuation all movables not specifically exempted by the instructions of 1225, 1283, and 1290. In other words, did the assessors value all of the taxable property of the residents in the rural communities at a fair market price?

There are several ways of approaching this problem, none of which would, alone, lead to a definite conclusion, but the cumulative effect of which goes far towards establishing a case against the veracity of the returns of the assessment. It does not seem to be possible to determine either the exact amount or even the extent of the evasion of formal precept, and at this time it will only be attempted to establish some of the tendencies. Recourse will first be had to the rolls of the assessors for light upon this problem, and then other documents, not made up by these officials, will be examined.

That cattle varied in price according to their age or strength is a fact that can be proved by reference to any manorial bailiff's account. On many assessment rolls cows were described as old, and so of less value than other cows, and oxen were assessed now at a fairly high value, and again at one much lower. If, therefore, it is found that in an assessment of the goods in a township all oxen and all cows were valued at a standard price, it seems a fair inference that there was in that district a conventional value placed upon cows and oxen for the purposes of taxation. An examination of the local assessment lists shows that there was this tendency in a large number of townships. In the township of Horton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the subsidy being the ninth of 1297, oxen were valued at four shillings and sixpence throughout the district. In Wistan the value of all the cows was four shillings each, and of the oxen five shillings. In Waddeworth oxen were valued at four shillings and sixpence, cows at four shillings;

in Rawmarsh, all oxen at five shillings and all cows at three shillings.[1] This practice of using conventional values is found in a number of townships, and seems to have been a favoured method of avoiding the strict precept of the formal instructions. Because, however, of the relatively meagre number of the assessment rolls in existence, it is impossible to state how widespread this practice was.

The answer to the question whether there was any omission of taxable property by the sub-assessors is far more elusive, because of our lack of knowledge of local customs with respect to exemption. In order to get at this problem in its simplest form the absence or presence of carts in the townships has been investigated. Carts were a necessary part of the rural economy of the day; they are mentioned in the accounts of the bailiffs of the manors, and they are pictured in most scenes representing the everyday life of the mediæval peasant. In the county of Bedford, the subsidy being the ninth of 1297,[2] eight carts were found assessed in six townships, out of over a dozen examined in detail. In five of these districts the carts were in the possession either of abbots or priors who held property in the township, or of the largest tax-paying layman, evidently the lord of the manor or his bailiff. In the sixth township, that of Holm, two men, each being only moderately assessed for the subsidy, were said to have carts. It is only proper to state that each of these carts, with one exception, was called *carectam ferratam*, a cart bound with iron, presumably one with an iron tyre for its wheels. In the six townships it can hardly be believed that there were only the eight carts enumerated, and it is surely incredible that there were no carts of any kind in the other districts. It is, therefore, possible to infer either that by custom of the community ordinary carts were not valued, or that in these instances the carts of the lesser men, of whatever kind,

[1] *Yorkshire Arch. Soc.*, Record Series, xvi. 6–8, Horton; 51–52, Wistan; 52, Waddeworth; 52, Rawmarsh.

[2] *Exchequer Lay Subsidies*, $\frac{7}{2}$, $\frac{7}{3}$.

were excused. The first inference seems the more probable, for carts bound with iron must have been rather expensive. If it be true, it is an example of how the burden of taxation upon the smaller property-holders could be lessened by what may be called conventional or customary omission. It may be thought that the term tools, utensils, used in the list of exemptions of 1283, would cover carts; but is there any reason why one should include ordinary carts in that definition and not carts bound with iron as well?

The hypothesis of customary omission serves to explain certain otherwise difficult returns as to the assessment of movables. Mr. Brown states that in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1297, carts were taxed in only three places.[1] The West Riding was, however, a poor district, and carts bound with iron may not have been found in more than three places. To account for the absence of carts from the assessments of fairly prosperous districts in Bedfordshire is not so easy. It is, of course, quite possible that the lord of the manor did not possess one of the more expensive sort; this would be the most natural and, indeed, the most charitable way in which to treat the returns. In view, however, of the evidence of bribery which will be produced shortly, one is left with the suspicion that he may have had a cart and that he did not pay for it. At all events it would be quite unsafe to make a census of carts bound with iron on the basis of the tax returns.

The county rolls drawn up by the chief taxors for use in the collection of the subsidies contain only the names of the tax-payers and the amounts that they were to pay. Yet they give evidence along the lines already discussed. In all such rolls one is constantly struck with the contrast between vills in which the sums charged against the tax-payers are in odd numbers coupled with halfpennies and farthings and those in which the columns of charges contain only round numbers, these round numbers being

[1] *Yorkshire Arch. Soc.*, Record Series, xvi., Introduction, xxiii.

very often multiples of such convenient sums as fourpence, sixpence, or a shilling. In the township of Marston, Staffordshire, in 1327, there were twenty-four tax-payers. They paid either sixpence, twelvepence, eighteenpence, two shillings, two shillings and sixpence, three shillings, or five shillings: all multiples of sixpence.[1] In Lichfield there were one hundred and eight tax-payers, but the sums charged against them were, up to two shillings, multiples of sixpence, and above that sum they were multiples of one shilling. In the township of Parva Sandon the eighteen tax-payers were charged either sixpence, ninepence, twelvepence, or fifteenpence; all of these sums being multiples of threepence. To explain such phenomena it will be remembered that there was a tendency towards valuing cattle and grain at standard round numbers. On many assessment rolls the absence of half-quarters of grain is also noticeable. By using such methods it would be possible to make most of the charges come out in even numbers, but it will not explain all the cases. Here is an example taken from a roll for Staffordshire in 1344.[2] It is later than the period of this study, but, as it was a re-assessment along the old lines, it will serve the purpose. In the borough of Tamworth there were twenty-five tax-payers. Of these eight were said to have five shillings' worth of property; three, goods to the value of six shillings and eightpence; six, ten shillings' worth; two, fifteen shillings' worth; four, goods to the value of twenty shillings; one to the value of thirty shillings, and one to the value of forty-eight shillings and fourpence. They would therefore pay to the tax sixpence, eightpence, one shilling, one shilling and sixpence, two shillings, three shillings, and four shillings

[1] *William Salt Arch. Society, Collections*, vii. 197, Marston; 235–236, Lichfield; 201, Parva Sandon.

[2] *Exchequer Lay Subsidy* $\frac{1}{11}\frac{7}{7}$. One way of getting rid of the farthings and halfpence was frankly to round out the charges to pence. In Somerdenne, Kent, in 1301, the charges which ran out to halfpence and farthings are changed on the roll to pence. Thus $10\frac{3}{4}d.$ is made to read $11d.$ and so on. *Exchequer Lay Subsidy* $\frac{1}{6}\frac{2}{8}$.

and tenpence. It seems a reasonable inference that such well rounded-out holdings of property are abnormal, and that in such townships the attempt on the part of the assessors to reach a true valuation of property was only approximate.

The same result is reached if other methods of investigating these columns of names and sums of money are used. In 1327 it was provided that the minimum amount of property to be taxed should be that of the value of ten shillings. The rate of the subsidy being a twentieth, the minimum possible charge was sixpence. In the hundred of Hareclyve, Somersetshire, the lowest payment was sevenpence; in North Cory, eightpence; in Mertoke, ninepence and in the hide of Glastone one shilling.[1] Evidently the Glastone assessors, backed by public opinion and probably by threats of public wrath, regarded twenty shillings as the smallest holding of personal property that should be taxed, and, without regard to the instructions which set the sum of ten shillings, made the former sum their minimum. There were in the hide of Glastone about one hundred and twenty tax-payers. It is hardly to be believed that there were in such a relatively populous community no men possessing movables the value of which would fall between ten and twenty shillings. This sort of thing appears so frequently on the county rolls that one is led to conjecture that there may have been in many communities conventional minimum holdings as well as conventional prices. In the borough of New Shoreham, Sussex, there was, for the subsidies of 1296, 1327, and 1332, but one man charged with the minimum payment.[2] He paid in 1296, when the minimum charge was one shilling. When, in 1327, the minimum charge was sixpence, there was not one person charged with less than one shilling out of a tax-paying population of forty-three. In 1332 the lowest possible payment was about sevenpence, but

[1] *Somerset Record Society*, iii. 93, 104, 129, 204.
[2] *Sussex Record Society*, x. 66–67, 152, 227.

again no one paid either that amount or less than one shilling. New Shoreham must have been very generally prosperous for a long time, or the lesser men were not taxed. Of the two alternatives the latter seems the more reasonable.

Thus far this investigation has been based upon facts gathered here and there from the official returns of the assessors. Certain types of facts gathered from other sources of information serve but to strengthen the attitude of questioning the valuations made by the assessors. Among the foreign expenses noted in the accounts of the bailiffs of the manor of Cheddington, belonging to Merton College, Oxford, there are a number of items relating to the subsidies. These items for a series of rolls are[1]: in 1297–1298, 'Payment made to the lord King for the ninth, thirteen shillings. Given to the taxors, two shillings'; in 1313–1314, 'Expenses of the taxors of the twentieth, six pence. A gift to the same, two shillings. Paid to the same taxors . . . for the twentieth, twenty-four shillings and four pence'; in 1316–1317, 'Expenses of the taxors of the sixteenth, eighteen pence. Paid to the taxors for the goods on the manor, . . . twenty-one shillings'; in 1332–1333, 'Expenses of the taxors of the fifteenth, two shillings and two pence. A gift to the same, three shillings. Paid to the taxors of the fifteenth for the manor . . . eighteen shillings, two pence and a halfpenny.' Among the *exitus grangiae* for the same year there is a statement that Peter atte Welle, taxor of the fifteenth, was given four bushels of wheat 'to have his favor.' The accounts of the bailiffs of the manor of Cuxham show that the officials in Cheddington were not unique examples of bribers. In 1332 the reference to the subsidy on the Cuxham account reads: 'Expenses of the taxors, two shillings; a gift to the same, three shillings and three pence. Payment to the taxor for the fifteenth, twenty shillings.'[2] In other words, the

[1] *Merton College MSS.* 5531 (1297–1298), 5544 (1313–1314), 5546 (1316–1317), 5564 (1332–1333).

[2] *Ibid.* 5857 (1332–1333).

bailiff handed over five shillings and three pence to the taxor on account of expenses and gifts, and twenty shillings as the tax upon the property on the demesne. The presents made by the bailiffs of Cheddington and Cuxham were, naturally, made with a purpose ; this purpose being to keep down the assessment of the movables on the demesne. That this was so is shown by the fact that, after 1334, when the amount of the subsidy became fixed, the presents to the taxors came to an end in both Cuxham and Cheddington.[1]

The results of this bribery, for it was nothing else, cannot be shown in figures, however interesting such figures would be. One is left with the feeling that, since the practice was continued, bribery must have been profitable. Otherwise would not the auditors sent out by Merton College have put an end to the useless expenditure of money ? One also wonders whether the lords of the manor in Bedfordshire paid to have their carts bound with iron overlooked, and and also if other men besides manorial bailiffs were not forced at times to protect themselves in a similar fashion. It would be absurd even to insinuate universal bribery, but the fact that bribes could be entered among the expenses of a manor, without even the slightest attempt at concealment, is an illuminating commentary upon the moral standards of the day.

For some time this investigation has dealt largely with conjecture. Rightly or wrongly, it has been inferred that there was a considerable amount of undervaluation of the personal property of the people at large when national taxes were being levied. Most of this, it has been inferred, was due to local or national custom. The types described, conventional values, omissions, the adoption of a conventional minimum, are, perhaps, only a few of the

[1] See *ibid.* 5569 (1337–1338), 5574 (1344–1345), 5575 (1345–1346) these being rolls for Cheddington. The Cuxham rolls in which payments of taxes are mentioned are *ibid.* 5863 (1337–1338), 5864 (1338–1339), 5865 (1339–1340), 5870 (1344–1345), etc.

methods used to evade the heavy burden of the King's taxes. It is well to try to place ourselves in the position of the mediæval sub-assessor, so far as this can be done. He had to accept the office thus thrust upon him, and he had to continue living in the small rural community where the assessment was made. The pressure of public opinion, with its corollary the threat of public wrath, would in most cases lead him to keep down the assessment, and to observe any or all of the practices described in order to do this. After all it would be extremely difficult for a mediæval peasant to assume an heroic attitude over the proper valuation of the goods of his neighbours for a tax imposed by a King at the far distant city of Westminster. Any precepts of morality that emanated from that city would rightly be regarded as the expression of discontent over the returns of the subsidy. Whatever, then, one may call such plans of evading the weight of the subsidies, one can hardly place them in the same category as the bribery practised by the bailiffs of Cheddington and Cuxham, or pass too severe judgment upon the sub-assessor who used them.

With the last of the series of problems set for investigation, that of the working in practice of the system of collecting the taxes upon movables, the realm of conjecture may be left behind. The evidence shows that the system worked very badly at times. It resulted in extremely slow collection and accounting, and, what is more, it left too many openings for dishonesty. It is proposed to deal only with this latter phase of the subject. Time after time charges of corrupt practice were made against a number of the head collectors. There also remain the records of the trials of some of these men, from which it is possible to gain more definite knowledge of their methods. In one case, at least, the evidence upon which the collectors were convicted has been preserved in the Public Record Office, making it possible in this instance to re-try them for the crime of stealing the King's money.

As has been stated, the only record of the assessment usually possessed by the Exchequer was the summarised county roll made up by the scribes of the county commissioners. In case of need the barons could, of course, call in the local assessment lists and the receipts given by the head collectors to the sub-collectors in the various townships; but how were the barons to know when and where this need existed? It was quite possible for the collectors so to change the county roll that the individuals would appear to have been charged with smaller amounts than they actually paid. Names of tax-payers might be omitted, and who would be the wiser? Generally the barons were forced to depend upon the complaints of an individual or a group of men. If, however, the corrupt practices did not take the form of extortion, it was quite possible that the central government would never hear of the matter.

From time to time charges of corruption of a general nature were made against the collectors in several counties and investigated by the rightly suspicious government. In 1276, for example, it was alleged that the taxors of the fifteenth had been guilty of altering the rolls, and a general inquiry was instituted.[1] In 1314 an investigation of the methods used in collecting several of the past subsidies was ordered because of the complaints of corrupt practice.[2] In 1324 it was alleged that the collectors in a number of counties had been guilty of accepting bribes from the townships.[3] Finally, in 1334, so widespread were the charges of corruption that the system of assessment and collection was revised. The government was not, therefore, unaware of the dangers of the system. In fact four times at least, in 1275, 1297, 1301, and 1327, supervisors were appointed to watch over the work done by the men regularly

[1] *C.P.R.* 1272–1281, 183.
[2] Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, II. ii. App. 79.
[3] *C.C.R.* 1323–1327, 74–75.

appointed.[1] A few cases of proved corrupt practice will show what the dangers feared were.

During the year 1309–1310, a certain John came before the treasurer and barons and exhibited a petition from a number of men of Devon, in which it was alleged that Nicholas de Kirkham, one of the collectors of the twentieth and fifteenth granted in 1307, had received from the men of that country two hundred marks more than he had charged against himself on the roll for the county.[2] Asked how this charge could be proven, he answered that it could be done by an investigation of the receipts given by Nicholas to the sub-collectors and in other ways. Nicholas was summoned and denied the charge. Two investigations were made, the second bringing out the fact that Nicholas had in many instances given receipts for the proper amount to the sub-collectors and had then charged himself with much smaller sums on the county roll. All told, he had pocketed £89 16*s.* 3¼*d.* Since the total amount credited to Devon on the enrolled account of the subsidy was £515 16*s.* 10¾*d.*, the amount of the theft was large. Nicholas was placed in gaol for a time, but finally settled with the Exchequer by paying in the amount that he had stolen. A similar charge was made against the collectors for the county of Worcester in 1334. They were tried and found guilty upon the same kind of evidence. It was claimed that they stole £111 7*s.* 2*d.*, whereas the total charge on the enrolled accounts against them was £441 14*s.*[3]

The trial of John de Boulton, one of the collectors of the fifteenth and tenth of 1332 in the East Riding of Yorkshire, is interesting because the various receipts that he gave to the sub-collectors have been preserved as well

[1] *C.C.R.* 1272–1279, 250–251 (1275); *L.T.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 69 (26 Edward I), m. 39d (1297); *C.P.R.* 1301–1307, 2 (1301); *K.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 104 (2 Edward III), m. 6 (1327).

[2] *L.T.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 80 (3 Edward II), m. 18.

[3] *K.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 112 (10 Edward III), m. 104.

as the county roll.[1] The charge against him was the same as that made against Nicholas de Kirkham. A comparison of the county roll and the acquittances shows that in the township of Layton he gave a receipt for forty-eight shillings, sixpence, and a halfpenny, and charged himself with but thirty-eight shillings, four pence, and a halfpenny. This was the usual method practised by dishonest collectors. Thomas, however, knew the ignorance of the Exchequer and omitted from his roll the names, and consequently the sums charged against them, of several townships, and the fraud was not detected until the next subsidy was being levied. If the ignorance of the Exchequer appears to be incredible, let it be remembered that the parish tax of 1371 was first apportioned upon the basis of the estimate of 40,000 parishes for England, and that it had to be entirely revised when it was discovered that there were less than 9000 such districts.

Such were some of the results of the system used in the assessment and collection of the taxes upon movables. The three lines of investigation have shown, it is hoped, the consequences of the lack of a clearly defined administrative system, with proper checks upon the evasion of the precept of the law. They also make manifest the care that must be used in dealing with mediæval documents which have to do with taxes. Indeed, to base a history of any administrative system upon the formal documents in which the government told what was to be done is to neglect the still more important element of what the men who were supposed to follow these directions really did. And again, as in the case of the definition of movables, it is absolutely necessary to differentiate between a twentieth-century literal translation of terms and the meaning that the same terms had in the minds of the men of the Middle Ages. These are aphorisms of mediæval research, but they have

[1] *K.R. Memoranda Roll*, No. 112 (10 Edward III), m. 143. The acquittances may be found in *Exchequer Lay Subsidy* $\frac{202}{16}$, and the county roll is *ibid.* $\frac{202}{18}$.

frequently been forgotten by writers on mediæval taxation. They have additional application here. Obviously it would be quite improper to accuse the sub-assessors of fraudulent intent when they followed a national custom in their interpretation of the term 'movables,' instead of a twentieth-century definition of the same term, and in the matter of conventional values and the like judgment should be suspended. When the practice of bribery is reached it is, perhaps, permissible to pass judgment against the men of the Middle Ages; but what court, even the Papal, was free from the taint of bribery? Stealing was doubtless a crime, and no one can excuse or defend it, but the punishments meted out to the collectors who stole would seem to reduce this act to the status of a modern misdemeanour. It is better, on the whole, in all such matters, to state the facts of the case and not to take upon oneself the position of a judge too hastily.

THE ORDER OF THE HOLY CROSS (CRUTCHED FRIARS) IN ENGLAND

By EGERTON BECK, M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.)

Read 21 *November* 1912.

ONE of the religious communities dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII was described in its deed of surrender as ' prior et conventus domus fratrum ordinis sanctae Crucis juxta Turrim Lond. vulgariter nuncupatae The Crossed Fryers ' [1] —the house of the brethren of the Holy Cross, popularly called the ' crossed friars ' ; a house whose memory is kept alive by the street near the Tower of London known as ' Crutched Friars.' The object of this paper is to give some account of the order to which it belonged, and to attempt to determine the number of its establishments in this country. It will be shown that its members were canons regular, and, assuming this for the moment, something must be said in regard to their designation as the crossed, crouched, or crutched friars.[2]

This was a purely popular, and not their official style ; just as now in Italy the clerks regular ministers of the sick, instituted in the sixteenth century by St. Camillus de Lellis, are, on account of a red cross on their habit, known as the *crociferi*. Popular names of this sort are common enough ; the generality of people have not sufficient interest in the religious orders to trouble themselves about their

[1] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. of 1704–1735), xiv. 610.

[2] In Holland, and Belgium where the order still exists, they are known as Kruisheeren or, by the French-speaking population, Croisiers. A London weekly newspaper, *The Tablet*, has taken to speak of them as the ' Crozier fathers,' which looks as if there were in the minds of those responsible some confusion between a crozier and a cross !

distinguishing characteristics, and it is easier to lay hold of some salient feature in a habit than to attempt the realization of what exactly its wearer may be. A cross would afford a ready means of identification and, so long as there were not two cross-bearing communities in the district, a sufficient one. The same nickname would be given to one body in one place; to another, elsewhere. In England, we find the term crutched friar applied not only to the canons of the Holy Cross[1] but also to Trinitarians and to certain Augustinian hospitallers.

It must be remembered too that 'friar' itself is merely a popular term. It is now generally taken to be synonymous with 'mendicant'; as the distinguished scholar who wrote the article on friars in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' says, it is 'the English generic name for members of the mendicant religious orders.' But this use of the term is not exclusive: for example, in a well-known popular book on English monastic life it is applied to the comparatively wealthy community of Bonhommes at Ashridge. The meaning of 'friar,' or its equivalent, as used in pre-Reformation times, has yet to be worked out. But one thing is quite certain, the Latin 'frater' is no guide whatsoever in the settling as to who should be styled 'friar'; for 'frater' is applied not only to mendicants but to monks, hospitallers, and canons regular[2]—at the present day, some abbots (doubtless as a mark of the modesty and humility which have always characterized their class) regularly prefix it to their signature. And it may also be observed that the Italian 'fra' is not reserved for mendicants: this may be seen in the pages of the 'Almanac de Gotha,' in which His Eminence

[1] The term 'Order of the Holy Cross' is itself not free from confusion; it has sometimes been applied to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.

[2] In the Hist. MSS. Commission *Reports on Various Collections*, iv. 330, may be seen the translation of a lease granted in 1320 by the canons regular of Tandridge, which begins: 'Grant by Friar Thomas, Prior of Tanregge, and the Canons of the said Convent to,' &c. One wonders whether the author of this report would describe an abbot of Westminster as *Friar* X! If not, why not?

the Grand Master of the order of Malta is entered as 'Fra Galeazzo de Thun et Hohenstein.'

The only instances, known to me, of Trinitarians being styled 'crutched friars' are in some state papers of the dissolution period; but there are indications that in the minds of some people there was a confusion of these religious with the canons of the Holy Cross. Leland speaks of the Trinitarians of Mottenden as 'fratres ordinis sanctae Crucis'; Tanner states that a community of canons of the Holy Cross established at Welnetham, in Suffolk, were sometimes, in wills, called brethren of the Holy Trinity; and in the deed of surrender of the priory of Donington, which undoubtedly belonged to the order of the Holy Cross, that house is described as 'domus fratrum ordinis sanctae Trinitatis,' and its prior as 'minister,'[1] the style of the superior of a Trinitarian house. In this, the Rev. J. C. Cox, author of the article on Donington in the 'Victoria History of Berkshire,' sees a confirmation of 'the opinion as to the identity of the two orders.' In fact, it only shows how misleading by itself even documentary and official evidence may be: for the prior of Donington was then, or had been shortly before, provincial in England of the order of the Holy Cross. The doubt which would naturally arise is as to the prior having sealed or even seen the deed; though a misdescription of themselves in such a document would probably not greatly have troubled those who by it were losing house and home. As to the two orders being identical, it need only be said that the most elementary acquaintance with their history would be sufficient to show that they were in their origin, have been throughout the ages, and still are, absolutely distinct: there has not been even a similarity of habit to condone the confusion.

Leland supplies an instance of Augustinian hospitallers being termed 'crutched friars.' Speaking of Brackley, he says: 'Master Paynell told me that there was of late a

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv. 613.

place of crossyd friers.' In the margin he wrote 'hospitalarii'; and Tanner is probably right in suggesting that Master Paynell referred to the hospital of St. John which in 1485 had been annexed to Magdalen College, Oxford. For another instance, we may go to Exeter, where it seems that in the early sixteenth century the prior and brethren of the old-established Augustinian hospital of St. John were called crutched friars by the townsfolk.[1]

But we are only concerned with one of the various bodies popularly styled crutched friars, the order of the Holy Cross which had the house by the Tower. Of this Tanner says:—

The order of crossed or crouched friars was instituted, or at least reformed, by one Gerard, prior of St. Mary of Morello at Bologna; and confirmed A.D. 1169 by pope Alexander III, who brought them under St. Austen's rule and made some other constitutions for their government. They came to England A.D. 1244, and had their first house at Colchester. At first they carried a cross fixed to a staff in their hands, but afterwards a cross of red cloth upon their backs or breasts. The habit was appointed by pope Pius II to be of a blue colour.

This account, which has been generally adopted by later English writers, is taken in the main from Newcourt's 'Repertorium'; and Newcourt in turn relied upon Hospinian's 'De origine Monachorum,' as Sir James Murray has done in the 'New English Dictionary.' As a sum-

[1] In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Mr. Theodore Craib pointed out that in the early Chancery proceedings there was a case relating to some crutched friars of Exeter. In connexion with this Mr. R. C. Fowler very kindly called my attention to a note which he had written for the *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* (vi. 90); and also to another, contributed by Mr. Wilfrid Bowring (*ib.* vi. 107), calling attention to an Exeter will of 1514 which had been printed in the same magazine (iv. 150–151). One of the parties to the Chancery suit was Richard Hyll 'prior of the Crosse Freres of the cite of Exeter.' This was in 1500–1501; and in the will, there is a bequest to the 'crossid fryers of St. John's.' On looking at Oliver's *Monasticon*, we found that in 1500–1501, the prior of St. John's hospital was Richard Hyll.

marised account of the order of the Holy Cross, it is wrong in every particular.

The monastery of Claire Lieu by Huy, on the Meuse, in the diocese of Liège, which afterwards became the mother house of this order, was founded by Theodore of Celles, a canon of St. Lambert's, the cathedral church of Liège.[1] He and his companions, according to the tradition of the order, made their profession as canons regular in 1211. According to the same tradition, the order of the Holy Cross was verbally approved by Innocent III, and in writing by his successor, Honorius III ; but for this, there seems to be no evidence, and the earliest documents given by Hermans belong to the year 1248. In that year Innocent IV granted the canons of Huy a bull of protection on October 1, and three weeks later directed Henry, bishop-elect of Liège, to settle and approve their constitutions. From the pope's letter, it appears that the canons had lived under the rule of St. Augustine and certain of the Dominican constitutions, and that they then wished to adopt these constitutions in their entirety, except as regarded the habit and the prohibition to hold property.[2] The bishop approved the constitutions in the form asked for, the canons retaining their own habit and the right to hold property. In his charter, dated December 31, 1248,[3] he stated that to his knowledge the order had been already approved and confirmed by the pope ; and René Chopin says that this papal confirmation was given on October 23, 1248, at the

[1] I am much indebted both for facts and for documents to the *Annales canonicorum regularium S. Augustini ordinis S. Crucis*, which was published at Bois-le-Duc in 1858, being edited by Dr. Cornelius Rudolph Hermans. The *Chronicon* of Fr. Henry Russell, published at Cologne in 1635, forms the basis of the work : Hermans contributed an abundance of notes and of documents.

[2] Le Mire, *Opera Diplomatica* (Brussels, 1723–1748), iv. 38. This instruction to the bishop-elect of Liège is wrongly entered in the *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. 249, as having been addressed to the bishop of Lincoln : in this Mr. Bliss apparently followed M. Berger's *Registres d'Innocent IV*, No. 4155 (vol. ii. p. 9).

[3] Le Mire, *op. cit.* iv. 38, 39.

Council of Lyons, his authority being a 'privatus crucigerorum codex autographus.'[1] The cardinal Jacques de Vitry, who died in 1244, makes no mention of these canons in his 'Historia Occidentalis'; but a few months after the approval of their constitutions, letters of protection were granted to the order in England, and about the same time houses were established at Namur and Toulouse. It may be fairly assumed that the year 1248 saw the real beginning of the *order*, as distinct from the priory of Huy; and in this the order of the Holy Cross would closely resemble that of Arrouaise, which was deliberately started thirty or forty years after the foundation of the monastery from which it took its name.

Once established, the order made considerable headway, and houses were founded not only in Germany but in France, the Low Countries, and England. Till the French Revolution, the prior of Huy was its master-general, and it is interesting to note that the sixth prior was an Englishman who had previously held the offices of procurator of the Paris house and provincial of England. The forty-ninth and last prior died at Liège in 1790, and the order was acephalous for sixty-three years; but in 1853, Pius IX gave permission for the election of a new general under new conditions. There were then only three convents in existence—two old ones and another of recent foundation: but the order has shown signs of renewed vitality, and the present master-general has under his jurisdiction two monasteries in Holland, three in Belgium, and two in the United States.

That the order of the Holy Cross was from the beginning one of canons regular, is beyond doubt. In its constitutions there is a direction that no one should be received as a *canon* or as a lay-brother without the permission of the prior of Huy[2]; in 1434 the prior of Huy, in a document

[1] *Monasticon* (Paris 1624), lib. i. 9 (p. 38).

[2] Distinctio 1ª cap. 13, *De recipiendis*—Nullus prior aliquem recipiat in canonicum vel conversum nisi de licentia prioris Hoyensis vel visitatoris.

addressed to the pope, Eugenius IV, described himself as 'prior generalis conventus Huyensis . . . ordinis S. Crucis canonicorum regularium'; and at the end of the fifteenth century one of the community of the English priory of Barham was entered in the Ely registers as 'canon of Barham.'[1] Nor is the evidence of papal documents lacking. The order is spoken of as 'ordo canonicus' in a bull confirming the possessions and privileges of the priory of Namur granted by Innocent IV in 1254[2]; and in another by which Leo X, in 1516, granted many and great privileges to two English houses—the 'canonici presbyteri' of those houses are mentioned more than once.[3]

There are indications that popularly the canons of the Holy Cross were classed with the mendicants: they certainly were not mendicants, for they might hold property. But that they had departed considerably from the normal type of canon regular is seen in the form of profession; for a canon of the Holy Cross promised obedience not to the prior of his own house but to the prior of Huy, the master-general. Every *order* of canons regular departed more or less from the normal type; but this particular departure is so much opposed to the spirit of the Austin canon, properly so called, that at first sight it would seem to destroy the claim of the order of the Holy Ghost to be ranked with the canons regular.[4] Such a point, however, would hardly have

[1] British Museum, *Cole MS.*, xlvii. p. 295 (in the account of the priory of Barham).

[2] Le Mire, *op. cit.* iv. 40.

[3] For a transcript of this bull, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Very Rev. L. Honhon, prior of the Kruisheeren of Diest, who had already laid me under great obligations by the ready kindness with which he had more than once given me information on points relating to his order. The transcript, I should say, reached me after the reading of the paper.

[4] The Italian order of Lateran canons has gone farther still, for not only do they require the permission of the general for profession, but the profession itself is for the order and not for a particular house; the effect of this being that a canon may be moved from house to house and from province to province. Very little is left in common with the old canons regular (*e.g.* those of St. Maurice d'Agaune in Switzerland) beyond the name and the habit—and even part of the habit was abandoned in the sixteenth century.

influenced the popular judgment. The basis of this was not improbably the fact that the work of the canons was not confined to their church ; for like the Dominicans (with whom some of the first canons are said to have laboured in Provence) they were itinerant preachers.

These canons were sometimes, in official documents, styled *cruciferi*, and it is important that they should not be confused with other bodies bearing this name : the errors of English writers on monasticism have, in this regard, arisen from a failure to recognise the fact that similarity of name does not necessarily imply unity of institute. There is no necessity to enumerate the different orders officially known as *cruciferi*, much less to attempt the impossible task of setting out a list of those to whom the term has been popularly applied. But something must be said of an Italian order, the 'sacer ordo cruciferorum,' whose chief house was a hospital at Bologna, dedicated, according to Moroni, to St. Mary.[1]

St. Mary's hospital was probably founded during the pontificate of Alexander III—that is, between 1159 and 1181.[2] It became the mother house of an order which, after some five centuries of existence, was suppressed by Alexander VII in 1656, when only four convents were left ; twenty-one having been already dissolved by Innocent X, his immediate predecessor.[3] The colour of the habit of these hospitallers (who may or may not have been canons regular) was only fixed in 1460, when Pius II ordered that it should be blue, also directing that they should always carry a silver cross in their hand.

It is to this order that Tanner and his followers have ascribed the English crutched friars ; and it is only fair to them to note that the canons of the Holy Cross themselves have, in the past, claimed a common origin with the Italian *cruciferi* in an order founded in the Holy Land by St. Cletus,

[1] *Dizionario*, xviii. 304.
[2] See a bull of Urban III in Migne, *P.L.* ccii. 1507.
[3] *Bull. Rom.* (Luxemburg 1727), vi. 30.

the second successor of St. Peter. This legend and its amplifications bristled with improbabilities, or rather impossibilities, and was quite irreconcilable with known facts. There is, however, no need to dwell upon it, as it appears to have been abandoned by the order; and it is much to be desired that other canons regular should follow so sane an example and put aside, with other myths, their preposterous claim to antiquity.

The crutched friars are commonly believed to have made their first appearance in England in 1244. Matthew Paris states that a new order appeared at the synod of Rochester on the vigil of All Saints in that year, and asked those there assembled for a domicile in this country: he adds that they claimed extraordinary privileges which they said had been granted by the pope. He says, too, that the new-comers were called *cruciferi*, because they carried a cross on a staff.[1] It has been generally assumed that these cross-bearers were identical with those afterwards known as crutched friars.[2]

The rejection of this assumption is, I venture to submit, amply warranted by the following facts. First, the visit of the cross-bearers took place four years before the approval of the constitutions of the order of the Holy Cross, and it is not easy to believe that they had already been granted extraordinary privileges. Secondly, nothing seems to be known in the order of the Holy Cross of these privileges—there is no reference to them in Russel's 'Chronicon,' or in the documents collected by Hermans; but religious orders do not readily forgo or make little of their prerogatives. And thirdly, there is nothing to suggest that the canons of the Holy Cross ever carried a cross as part of their insignia; their distinguishing mark has been the bi-coloured cross

[1] M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, ad an. 1244 (Rolls edn., iv. 393, 394).

[2] The only opinions to the contrary known to me are those expressed by Morant in his *History of Colchester* and by Mr. A. G. Little in the *Victoria History of Oxfordshire*: both distinguish the 'friars' of the Holy Cross from the cross-bearing friars mentioned by Matthew Paris,

sewn on the habit as prescribed by the constitutions of 1248. Moreover, direct evidence is not wanting; a weighty argument is, I think, furnished by three entries on the Patent Rolls. In 1244, the year of the Rochester episode, letters of protection were granted to the brethren 'of the order [hospital] of St. Mary of the order of the cruciferi,'[1] and in 1250 similar letters were issued for 'the hospital of St. Mary of the order of the cruciferi';[2] whilst in 1249 we find protection granted to the brethren of the order of the Holy Cross, *de ordine Sanctae Crucis*.[3] These entries point to the presence of two different bodies. The third obviously relates to the order of the Holy Cross: the other two concern some order of *cruciferi* connected with a hospital of St. Mary. And I suggest the possibility of Matthew Paris having recorded an endeavour made by the *cruciferi* of St. Mary's hospital in Bologna to establish a footing in England.

An early attempt to found an English house of the canons of the Holy Cross was made at Warenford in Northumberland, not later than the year 1251, by Juliana de Merley, who granted them land with a house, a chapel, and a mill.[4] There can be no doubt as to the identity of the grantees, for the charter refers to them as the prior and brethren of the Holy Cross whose chief house was in foreign parts—to wit, in the diocese of Liège. The canons did not make a lengthy stay: they were dispossessed by the bishop of Durham, and in 1255 or 1256 the chaplain, appointed by him, successfully defended an action brought against him by 'Brother Peter prior of the brethren of the Holy Cross

[1] *Cal. Pat.* 28 Hen. 3, m. 2. The first 'order' is written quite clearly on the roll: it is an obvious, and very natural, blunder on the part of the scribe. The 1250 entry suggests the probable correction.

[2] *Ibid.*, 34 Hen. 3, m. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, 33 Hen. 3, m. 2.

[4] Her charter is undated, but there is a confirmation entered on the charter roll of 1251. The charter is printed in the *History of Northumberland* (issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee), vol. i. (Parish of Bamburgh), p. 249, note. It was printed from the original in the possession of the late Canon Raine.

in England.'[1] The same bishop gave them, perhaps by way of compensation, land in Osmutherley :[2] but there is, so far as my knowledge goes, no reason for thinking that a convent was established in that place. In the course of the next ninety years, there were other disappointments ; abortive efforts were made at Kildale in Yorkshire,[3] Oxford,[4] Blakelowe-in-Farndale,[5] Wotton-under-Edge,[6] and, if Burton is not mistaken, York.[7] Nothing need be said of any of these with the exception of the short-lived Oxford foundation, the bull confirming which was signed by the pope and ten cardinals.[8] There is a document connected with this referred to in the 'Monasticon,' which should have been sufficient to put anyone on the track of the 'crutched friars,' being as it is the licence for the establishment of this house granted by the master-general, Libertus, from the 'cloyster of Hoy.'[9]

During the three centuries, however, of its connexion with England, the order of the Holy Cross succeeded in establishing three or four small houses and in annexing another. Before the end of the thirteenth century, convents were in existence at Welnetham in Suffolk,[10] and in London. The order had possession of the chapel of St. Thomas the

[1] Assize Roll 40 Hen. 3, printed (1891) by Surtees Society in *Three Early Assize Rolls for the County of Northumberland*, at p. 10.

[2] *Cal. Pat.* 41 Hen. 3, m. 1.

[3] *Cart. prioratus de Gyseburne* (Surtees Society), i. p. 389, and *cf. Cal. Pat.* 4 Edw. 2, p. 1, m. 20. The archbishop of York speaks of the religious who had gone there as 'se de ordine fratrum de Cruce praetendentes.' They were probably canons of the Holy Cross, but may have belonged to some other body.

[4] *Cal. Pat.* 16 Edw. 3, p. 2, m. 25.

[5] *Cal. Pat.* 21 Edw. 3, p. 2, m. 6. I know of nothing to show that a foundation was actually made either here or at Blakelowe.

[6] *Cal. Pat.* 23 Edw. 3, p. 1, m. 22.

[7] Burton, *Monast. Ebor.*, p. 57.

[8] *Cal. Pap. Lett.*, iii. 381.

[9] Vol. vi. 1586. Mr. A. G. Little, writing of this foundation in the *Victoria History of Oxfordshire*, says that this licence is still preserved in the archives of Merton College, Oxford.

[10] There is no notice of this priory among the religious houses in the *Victoria History of Suffolk*.

Martyr in the former place before the end of 1293; for in 21 Edw. I, the prior and brethren of the Holy Cross of Little Welnetham acquired the advowson of the chapel of Bergham or Barham in Cambridgeshire.[1] The London house, Leland says,[2] was founded in 1298 by two citizens, Ralph Hosier and William Sabernes, both of whom, according to Stow,[3] afterwards joined the order. There was undoubtedly a close connexion between these two priories. In 1331 a licence in mortmain was granted for the alienation to Welnetham priory of certain lands &c. in Suffolk for the purpose of finding two chaplains to perform divine service 'daily in the church of the order in London.'[4] This suggests the idea that the inmates of the two priories formed one community; the canons of Welnetham may have migrated to the capital, and the London priory have borne much the same relation to the older house as Repton bore to Calke. The priory of Welnetham was certainly still in existence in 1347,[5] but it came to an end before the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century: the London house survived, but its suppression did not add much to the spoil.

The advowson of the chapel of Barham having been acquired by the canons of Welnetham, at a later date a convent was established there—probably in 1323, for in that year John Furneaux of Barham obtained a licence to alienate a messuage and fifty-two acres of land to the prior and brethren of the Holy Cross in Barham.[6] At the dissolution, the 'late priory of Barham' was granted as parcel of the possessions of the London house;[7] and this looks as if immediately before the suppression it had been not an independent house but a cell.

[1] *Index of Inquis. ad quod damnum*, i. 32.
[2] *Collect.* (ed. Hearne), i. 109.
[3] *Survey of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), i. 147.
[4] *Cal. Pat.* 5 Edw. 3, p. 2, m. 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21 Edw. 3, p. 1, m. 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, 16 Edw. 2, p. 2, m. 25.
[7] *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII*, xv. 942 (19).

Another foundation which survived till the general suppression was made at Donington in Berkshire. The date is unknown, but not improbably the house was established in or about 1376, in which year a licence was granted[1] to Sir Richard Abberbury for the alienation of lands to the London priory for the maintenance in Donington of two chaplains belonging to the order.

One other house was acquired in England—the hospital of the Holy Cross in Colchester; according to Morant, this was in 1496.[2] Mr. R. C. Fowler, writing in the 'Victoria History of Essex,' says that they 'claimed that the hospital had formerly belonged to them and that they had been expelled from it. They produced papal bulls and other evidences and were admitted.' But this hospital was in existence before the arrival of the order of the Holy Cross in England, for in 1235 its prior levied a fine.[3] In 1251 letters of protection were granted to the brethren,[4] and in 1283 to master Thomas de Colecestre, keeper of the hospital.[5] At the last-mentioned date, the hospital was apparently in secular hands, and there is no obvious reason for thinking that there was any change before 1496: indeed there seems to be no reason for thinking that the order had ever had possession. One is forced to conclude that the story put forward at the end of the fifteenth century was mythical and the evidence misunderstood—or manipulated.

Two other houses have been added to this list, Guildford and Reigate. But the only authority for the existence of a house of crutched friars at the former place is Speed; and it was unknown to him when he compiled the list of monasteries for the first edition of his 'History of Great Britaine,' published in 1611. In this he enters the priory

[1] *Cal. Pat.* 26 Hen. 6, p. 2, m. 19.

[2] Morant, *History of Colchester*, ii. 42.

[3] Essex Archaeological Society, *Calendar of Feet of Fines*, 112 (Colchester, 1899–1910).

[4] *Cal. Pat.* 35 Hen. 3, m. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, 11 Edw 1., m. 21.

of St. Cross as having belonged to the friars preachers; but in the second edition, published in 1627, without note or comment, he assigns St. Cross to the 'crouched fryers' (probably on account of the name), and finds another house dedicated to St. Dominic for the 'preaching fryers.' Till something in the nature of evidence be produced, any suggestion of the existence of a priory of crutched friars at Guildford must be disregarded.

As to Reigate, it will be satisfactory (and perhaps amusing, as showing how history is sometimes written) to take the various authorities in chronological order. Leland [1] speaks of Reigate priory as being of 'the order of St. Augustine,' the common mode of describing an ordinary house of Austin canons. Speed in 1611 calls it 'a priory of Augustines'; [2] Harpsfield in 1625 has 'P. Augustiniani'; [3] Reyner in 1626 gave the Reigate house to the crutched friars; [4] Speed in 1627 followed Reyner; [5] Tanner mentions Reyner's opinion, but does not accept it, assigning the house to Austin canons; [6] and Stevens contents himself with adopting what Reyner says on the subject.[7] Cox in 1730, by a curious mischance, brought into his account of this priory certain facts belonging to the history of the London crutched friars, saying—

> About the year 1298, two citizens of London, William Sebern and Ralph Hosier, becoming considerable benefactors to this order, took upon them their religious habit under Adam the prior of that house. . . . The place where this priory stood in the town of Reigate [*sic*] still retains the name of Crouched Friars, but instead of the religious house there was a tennis-court and glass-house set up soon after the dissolution, but they were both burnt down to the ground, except the outward walls, in the year 1575.[8]

[1] *Collect.* (ed. Hearne), i. 90.
[2] *History of Great Britaine*, p. 798.
[3] *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, p. 775, Douai, 1622.
[4] *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, i. 164, Douai, 1626.
[5] *History*, &c., 2nd ed., p. 823.
[6] *Notitia* (ed. Nasmith).
[7] *Hist. of the Ancient Abbeys*, &c., ii. 268. [8] *Magna Britannia*, v. 448.

This is practically a translation of Reyner's short summary of Stow's account of the London house. The editor of Manning's 'History of Surrey'[1] inserted the following at the head of the list of priors: 'Adam was prior about 1298 when William Sebane and Ralph Hosier, two citizens of London, becoming considerable benefactors to this order, took upon them the religious habit under this prior.' And the Rev. J. C. Cox, writing in the 'Victoria County History of Surrey,' adopts his namesake's blunder, in so far as it relates to the London citizens and Prior Adam. He says, however, that Stevens and others are mistaken in calling the house a priory of crutched friars; and in this he is undoubtedly right. As Tanner points out, Reigate priory is referred to in the Winchester registers as being of the order of St. Augustine,[2] a quite sufficient indication of what it really was: Reyner, the originator, it would seem, of the erroneous description, was perhaps led astray by the dedication of the house to St. Cross.

Before passing on, a word must be said in regard to another institution—the hospital of Ospring near Faversham. Tanner[3] and Hasted[4] both say that this was founded for a master, three regular brethren of the order of the Holy Cross, and two secular clerks; but there is no indication as to what they meant by 'order of the Holy Cross.' The hospital was founded not later than 1237,[5] some years before there is any likelihood of the canons with whom we are concerned having been known in this country; and the numerous documents relating to it far from suggesting any later connexion practically establish the contrary.

The net result is that during the three centuries or so which elapsed between the first appearance of the 'crutched friars' and the suppression of the religious houses, they

[1] *History of Surrey*, vol. i. p. 299. This is given between asterisks as having been 'communicated by Mr. Glover.'

[2] See *Wykeham's Register* (Hampshire Record Society), i. 11–14.

[3] *Notitia* (ed. Nasmith).

[4] *History of Kent*, ii. 801.

[5] See *Cal. Chart.*, 21 Hen. 3, m. 7.

were able to make lasting establishments in four places —London, Barham, Donington, and Colchester.

That these houses were under the jurisdiction of the prior of Huy cannot be questioned. Barham depended upon the London house, with which too Donington was connected; and the situation of the London priory in regard to Huy is apparent from the licence granted to it, for the establishment of a house at Oxford. Were nothing else forthcoming this would be sufficient proof that the 'crutched friars' of London, Barham, and Donington were canons of the Holy Cross. But further evidence is to be found in the archives of the order; and this evidence establishes the same in regard to Colchester.

In the general chapter of 1456, a vicar-general was appointed for the purpose of visiting the English province [1] on behalf of the master-general, who was required by the constitutions to hold, by himself or by his deputy, a visitation of every house belonging to the order, once in three years.[2] The vicar-general, then appointed, was confirmed at the general chapter of 1462.[3] Twenty-seven years later, in 1489 that is, the prior of [?] Waten, in the diocese of Cambrai, was named visitor for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; the London house being referred to by name.[4] Three years later, again, the prior of Horne was appointed vicar-general of the English province, and with him were sent three others that together they might labour at the reformation of their London confrères. Russel says that

[1] Fuit constitutus vicarius generalis nomine Wilhelmus de Sutphalia ad visitandam et reformandam Angliam. [Hermans ii. 282, citing Halloix *Diffiinitiones*, MS. in 8vo, ff. 101, 102 and *Diff. Cap. Gen.* MS. Udensis in 4to.]

[2] Constitutions *Dist.* ii. cap. 7 *De visitatoribus.*

[3] Confirmatus fuit Guilelmus de Zutphalia in suo vicariatu generalatus pro reformatione et visitatione Angliae. [Hermans ii. 291, same authorities, but ff. 102, 103 of Halloix.]

[4] Fr. Goswinus Noviomagi, prior in Wateniss, ordinatus visitator plena auctoritate et procurator conventuum regnorum et terrarum Angliae, Scotiae, Hyberniae et Wallagiae: Fr. Joannes Essendiae item reformator tam in disciplina regulari quam in actibus conventuum et fratrum ordinis in Londonia nostri usque ad revocationem nostram. [Hermans ii. 388.]

struggling manfully they achieved this, and then one of the foreigners, Br. Christian of Cologne, was appointed prior of the house.[1] Some forty years later, in the general chapter of 1531, Fr. Henry, prior of 'Doneton,' was appointed vicar and provincial for England.[2] And in 1534 the prior of 'Doniton,' provincial of England, and the prior of Colchester were named visitors of the English houses.[3] This was the last appointment: four years later the English houses were suppressed.

That the chroniclers of the order do not appear to have realised that some of the English foundations were extremely short-lived, and came to an end long before the suppression, may be gathered from four lists printed in the 'Annales'; but one is hardly prepared to find Hertzworms, a seventeenth-century prior of the Kruisheeren of Maeseyck quoting a chronicle to the effect that the master-general died of grief at the loss of so many and such illustrious convents in England[4]—a statement far from suggesting the true state

[1] [1492] Ultimo autem vitae suae Everhardus [ab Orsoy] misit ad reformandum conventum Londoniensem in Anglia fratrem Gerbrandum priorem Hornensem quem per eam provinciam suum generalem vicarium constituit, necnon F. Cornelium Gerbrandi priorem Novi Fondi, F. Christianum Coloniensem, et F. Lucam de Mechlinia Huensem qui in reformatione eadem viriliter agonizantes, superatis pluribus periculis, divina gratia cooperante et bonorum virorum auxilio optatum finem reformationis adepti sunt, fratre Christiano priore ibi constituto. [Russel, *Chron.* apud Hermans i. 146.]

[2] Ordinatus fuit P. Henricus prior in Doneton in nostrum vicarium et provincialem in toto regno Angliae generali auctoritate usque ad revocationem P. Generalis. [Hermans iii. 24.] The last prior of Donington was Henry 'Weete,' who was said by Williams and London, the king's visitors, in a letter to Sir Richard Riche, in 1538, to be 'an extreme aged man.' [*Lett. and Pap.*, xiii. (2) 1025, and cf. xv. 1032, p. 544.]

[3] Anno 1534 sub ven. P. Generali Thoma de Gouda capitulum generale ultimos visitatores deputat his verbis: Per Angliam visitabit venerabilis prior in Doniton provincialis Angliae cum ven. priore Colcestriae. Conventum in Doniton visitabit ven. prior Colcestriae cum socio per eum assumendo. [Hertzworms, *Rel. S. Crucis Auxeses*, 23, 24 apud Hermans, I. pt. ii. p. 17 note.]

[4] Chronicon addit quod Ven. P. Ubachius ut vidit de tot et tam egregiis conventibus actum esse, moerore tabescens, obierit Huii. [Hertzworms *loc. cit.*]

of the case, for the houses were small and of little value from the financial point of view.

The deed of surrender of the London priory was signed by six canons [1] and that of Donington by the prior and one other.[2] As to Colchester, there is no available information; but when the order obtained possession of the hospital, it was on the condition that four English religious should be therein maintained. The probability is that the total number of canons in the province did not much exceed a dozen. And its financial importance was no greater. The annual income of the London house was returned at £52 13*s.* 4*d.*, which would include Barham. Donington was worth £19 13*s.* 10*d.* a year; and Colchester £7 7*s.* 8*d.* —that is, the total annual value of the English province was just under £80.

This makes even more extraordinary, than it would in any case be, the bull of Leo X, to which, in conclusion, another reference must be made. This is not the place to set out the indulgences and other privileges conferred on those who, after visiting the churches, contributed to the funds of the priories of London and Colchester, and on the members of their confraternities; or the faculties granted to the canons and others who heard confessions. But when one thinks of the pomp and circumstance which attended a mitred prelate in days when mitres were not as cheap as they are now, it is worth while to note that the priors of London and Colchester were granted not only the mitre but the other pontifical ornaments; London being a house of but little importance, except perhaps as a centre for the German colony, and Colchester quite insignificant. The questions arise as to why they were given this honour a century and more before it was conferred on the master-general; as to who obtained it for them; and as to the inducements which prevailed with the papal curia. Questions which probably will remain unanswered.

[1] *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, App.* 2.
[2] *Ibid.*

INDEX

Abberbury, Sir Richard, 203
Aberdeen, trade in, 5, 6
A'Court, William, Baron Heytesbury, 110 *n.*, 125, 126, 127
Æfflaed, daughter of Æthelhelm, 143
Ægelwin, 131, 139
Ælfgifu, child of Earl Godwin, 129
Ælfhēah, alderman of Wiltshire, his will, 144, 144 *n.*
— *see* Winchester, bishop of
Ælfric, 131
— the Grammarian, abbot of Eynsham, 137
— alderman of Mercia, 145, 146
— *see* Malmesbury, abbot of
Ælfthryth, daughter of King Alfred, 140
Ælfweald, his endowment of Cernel monastery, 135
Ælfwold, *see* Ælfweald
Ælfwyn, Lady of Mercia, 144
Ælmer, *see* Æthelmær, 132
Ælweard, 145
Ælwinus, *see* Æthelwine
Æthelhelm, son of Ethelred, alderman of Wiltshire, 142, 143
Æthelmær, origin of the name, 131, 132, 133
— alderman of Hampshire, 133, 134
— alderman of Devonshire, father of Wulfnoth Childe, 133, 134, 135, 139, 146, 147, 149
— he submits to Sweyn, 135–136
— his lands forfeited by Ethelred, 135–136
— bequest of Hamelanden to, by Prince Athelstan, 136, 137
— *see* Elmham, bishop of
Æthelnoth, *see* Canterbury, archbishop of
Æthelweard, *see* Ethelwerd
Æthelwine, alderman of East Anglia, 132
— *see* Ægelwine
Agelmær, *see* Æthelmær
Agelric, alderman of the Mercians, 131, 132
Agelward, 131
Albemarle, duke of, *see* Monck
Alexander, *see* Russia, Czar of
Alfred, king, 140, 142, 143
Almanac de Gotha,' 192, 193
Alwold, *see* Ælfweald
Anscombe, Alfred, his paper on 'the Pedigree of Earl Godwin,' 129–150
Anthemius of Tralles, architect, 22
Apprenticeship in England and Scotland, 13–16
Archery, in the Middle Ages, 153
Architecture, growth of, in Scotland, 8–10
— mediæval, 16–24
— evolution of, in Scotland, 18
— on the Continent, 20–23
— use of models in, 21–24
Archives, English, establishment of, 34, 42–44, 46
— foreign, 44, 46
Arlington, earl of, *see* Bennet
Arnulf II., Count of Flanders, 140
Arrouaise, 196
Ashbridge, community of 'Bonhommes' at, 192
Assessment, *see* Subsidies
— Rolls, 173, 174, 175, 178, 180, 186
Assessors, local, their institution and duties, 172
— — corruption among, 174, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185–189
Athelm, *see* Æthelhelm
Athelstan, king, 140
— Prince, son of Ethelred II., 132, 136, 137
Augustinian Hospitallers, their erroneous title of 'Crutched Friars,' 192, 193, 194
Austria, Francis I., Emperor of, 57, 58, 65

Austria, policy of, at the Congress of Vienna, 1814, 50, 52, 53, *and passim*
Avaux, Jean Antoine, Comte d', 32
Aylmer, *see* Æthelmær

Baillie, Robert, his letters, 32
Baker, Geoffrey le, chronicler, 151, 157, 163, 164
— Sir Richard, his 'Chronicle of the Kings of England,' 26
Baldock, Robert de, 157
— visit of Queen Isabella to, 157
Baldwin, count of Flanders, 140
Bannatyne Club (1823), 42
Barham, community of the Holy Cross at, 197, 202, 206, 208
Barillon's despatches, 32
Barnwell, visit of Queen Isabella to the canons of, 157
Bassett, Sir Ralph, 162
Bathurst, Henry, 3rd earl, 112, 123, 124
Battles: Bannockburn, 153
— Brunanburgh, 140
— Buttington, 143
— Cressy, 153
Bautzen, 98
Bavent, Thomas de, 157
Baxter, Richard, his 'Autobiography,' 28
Beck, Egerton, his paper on 'The Order of the Holy Cross in England,' 191–208
Bedford, John de, captain of mercenaries, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163, 164
— submission of Henry of Lancaster at, 163
Bénévent, Prince de, *see* Talleyrand
Bennet, Henry, Earl of Arlington, 31
Berkeley, Sir John, his 'Narrative,' 28
Berlea, sold to King Edgar, 139
Berton, John de, 159
Berwick, trade in, 5
'Biographia Britannica,' 34
Biographies of the xviith century, 27, 28, 35, 40, 41, 42, 45
Birch, Thomas, Dr., 35
Blacas, Pierre Louis Jean, duc de, 62, 77
Blakelowe-in-Farndale, 201
Boderie, La, *see* Lefèvre
Bodleian Library, 34
Bologna, architecture at, 23
'Bonhommes,' community of, 192
Bosham, acquisition of, by Godwin, 147, 148
— church, held by the bishops of Crediton, 147, 149
Boulton, John de, taxor, charge of corruption against, 187, 188
Boyle, Roger, earl of Orrery, 31
Brackley, hospital (Northants), 193, 194
Brihtric, 130, 131
Bristol, earl of, *see* Hervey
British Museum, 34, 42, 44, 46
Brodie, George, his 'history,' 39
Brotherton, Thomas of, *see* Thomas
Brougham, Henry Peter, baron, 107, 116 *n.*
Bruce, Sir W., 18
Buckingham, duke of, *see* Villiers
Buda, 57, 58, 78
Burgh, Ulick de, marquis Clanricarde, 31
Burghs, difference between English and Scottish, 2–4, 7, 11, 12, 13
— of barony, 2
— royal, 2
— Scottish, their administration, 3, 4
Burghersh, Bartholomew de, 161
Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury, 28, 30, 33
Bury St. Edmund's, pilgrimage of Queen Isabella to, 157
— — — abbot of, 158
— — — riot at (1328), 159, 160
Butler, James, duke of Ormonde, 31

Cambuskenneth, Parliament of, 3
Camden Society (1838), 42
Canning, George, his jealousy of Castlereagh, 104, 111, 112, 113, *and passim.*
— — his speech in the house on the Franco-Spanish war, 106–107, 109, 117, 118
Canons regular of the Holy Cross, 196, 197
Canterbury, archbishop of, Sigeric, 145, 146
— — Ethelred, 142
— — *see* Laud
— — Æthelnoth the Good, 147, 149
Canterbury, old English chronicle written at, 130, 131
Canute, king, 130 *n.*, 132
Capel, Arthur, earl of Essex, 31

Carleton, Sir Dudley, his letters, 31
Carlyle, Thomas, 40
Carte, Thomas, 32, 37, 38, 44, 47
— — his ' Life of Ormonde,' 31
Carte, subsidies on, 176, 179, 180, 184
Carucage, the, 167
Cary, Robert, earl of Monmouth, 31
Castlehaven, earl of, *see* Touchet
Castlereagh, viscount, *see* Stewart
Castle (Stirling), 10
Caxton, Thomas, 158
Cerdic, 146
Cerne (Dorset), foundation of monastery at, 134, 135, 137, 139, 147
— ' Long Man ' at, 147
Charles I., *see* England, king of
— II., *see* England, king of
Charlton, John de, 158
Chateaubriand, François Auguste, vicomte de, 106 *n.*, 109, 116
Chaucer, John, *alias* ' John Heyron,' 152, 154, 156, 159, 164, 165, 165 *n.*
— — *alias* John Malyn, 165
Cheddington, assessment of, 183, 184, 185
Chetham Society (1848), 42
Chichester, mint at, 130
— mention of, in Domesday, 139
Chigwell, Hamo de, mayor of London, 154, 159, 160, 164
— Thomas de, 158, 160, 164
Child, Anglo-Saxon use of the word, 133, 134
Chopin, René, 195
Chronicle, Evesham, 143
Chronicles, Anglo-Saxon, Worcester, 130, 131, 132
— Old English (Canterbury), 130, 131, 132
— ' Annales Londonienses,' 151
Clarendon, earl of, *see* Hyde
Clarges, Thomas, 26
Clynton, Sir William de, 162
Cnut, *see* Canute
Coke, Roger, his, ' Detection of the Court and State of England,' 27
Colchester, Thomas of, 203
— Order of the Holy Cross at, 203, 206, 208
Collier, Jeremy, 33
Compton, mention of, in Domesday, 138–139
— bequest of, 136–139, 142, 143, 144, 146
Cotterel, John, of Wood Street, 159, 164
Cottonian Library, 34
Cotun, John de, alderman of Walbrook Ward, 159
Coventry, bishop of, *see* Hackett
Coxe, William, 41
Crafts, masons', 8, 9, 10
Crediton, Bosham Church held by the see of, 147, 149
' Cruciferi,' different orders of, 191, 192, 198, 199
Crutched Friars, *see* Holy Cross, Order of the
Cumtûn, *see* Compton
Cunningham, Ven. Archdeacon W., his Address on ' The Guildry and Trade Incorporations,' 1–24
Cuxham, assessment of, 183, 184, 185
Czartorisky, Adam George, prince, 77, 85

Dalrymple, Sir David, 31
— Sir John, 32, 33, 44
Danby, earl of, *see* Osborne
Danegeld, the, 167
Danes, invasion of England by, 140–141, 145, 145 *n.*, 146
Darcy, Henry, 155
Denmark, king of, *see* Sweyn
Despenser, Hugh le, earl of Winchester, 157
— — — the younger, 157
Disraeli, Isaac, 40
Domesday Book, 138, 139, 147, 148, 149
Donington, priory of, 193, 203, 206, 208
Dordrecht, John de Hainault at, 157
Dugdale, William, his ' Short View of the late Troubles,' 26
Dunfermline, 10
Dunkirk, 32
Dunstable, visit of Queen Isabella to, 157

Eadgifu, child of Earl Godwin, 129
Eadgŷth, child of Earl Godwin, 129
— wife of Otho I., emperor, 143
Eadric, 130, 131
Eanwulf, alderman of Somerset, 145
Eastland Company, 13
Echard, Laurence, his ' History,' 36
Edgar, king, 133, 134, 139, 141, 145, 153

Edinburgh, trade in, 5
— St. Giles' Church, 10
— Holyrood House, 18, 24
— George Heriot's Hospital 18, 21, 24
Edith, daughter of Ethelred II., 131
— — — Earl Godwin, 131
Edmonton, manor of, 158
Edmund, prince, son of Ethelred II., 136
— earl of Kent, his rebellion, 1330, 152, 161, 163
Edrith, prince, son of Ethelred II., 136
Edward the Elder, king, 142, 143
— the Confessor, *see* England, king of
— I., *see* England, king of
— II., *see* England, king of
— III., *see* England, king of
Eilmer, *see* Æthelmær
Elfsige, bishop of Winchester, 136
Ellenborough, Lord, *see* Law
Ellis, Sir Henry, 41
Elmham, Æthelmær, bishop of, 132
Elwardus, *see* Ethelwerd
Ely, Book of, 132, 132 *n.*, 133, 134, 135, 139, 146
— monastery at, 136, 139
England, king of, Edward the Confessor, 129, 130, 131, 149
— — — William I., 129, 149
— — — Edward I., 13
— — — — — taxation during reign of, 167
— — — Henry III., taxation during reign of, 167
— — — Edward II., 151, 153, 157
— — — — — III., 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165
— — — — — his letters to the mayor and citizens of London, 162, 163
— — — James I., 13
— — — Charles I., 30
— — — — — II., 18
— — — George IV., 50, 54, 61, *and passim*
— queen of, Mary I., 11
Erfurt, 68, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97
Essex, earl of, *see* Capel
Estrades, Godfrey, Comte d', 32
Ethelred I., king, son of Ethelwulf, 142, 146
— II., 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 145
— *see* Canterbury, archbishop of
Ethelwerd, 132, 140
Ethelwerd the Historian, father of Æthelmær, 135, 137, 149
— his foundation of Cerne monastery, 135, 139, 147
— origin of the name, 139
— his 'Annals,' 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 145 *n.*, 146
— his attestation to charters, 141, 145
— his pedigree, 142, 143, 146
Ethelwold, son of Ethelred, 142
Ethelwulf, king, father of King Alfred, 142
Evelyn, John, 18, 33, 41
Exeter, bishop of, Walter Stapleton, 158
— Osbern, bishop of, 149
— Augustinian hospital of St. John at, 194, 194 *n.*
Eylmer, *see* Æthelmær
Eynsham, abbot of, *see* Ælfric

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, his 'Short Memorials,' 28
Farnham, Richard de, 159
Firth, Prof. C. H., his paper on 'the development of the study of xviith century history,' 25–48
Flanders, count of, *see* Baldwin
— — — , *see* Arnulf
Florence of Worcester, 131, 132, 137, 146, 147, 149
Forster, John, 40, 45
Fox, Charles James, 38, 40
— George, his 'Journal,' 28
France, policy of, at the Congress of Vienna, 1814, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, *and passim*
— king of, Louis XVIII., 50, 56, 104
— invasion of Spain by, 104, 105, 107, 108
Friars, origin and use of the name, 192, 193
— Crutched, *see* Holy Cross, order of the
Fuller, Thomas, his 'Church History of Britain,' 26
Fulsham, Benedict de, 160
Furneaux, John, of Barham, 202

Galeazzo, Fra, de Thun and Hohenstein, 193
Gardiner, S. R., his 'History,' 45, 46, 47
Glasgow, 23
Glastone, rate of taxation in, 182

Gloucester, Edward III. at, 162
Goda, 131
Godwin, earl, origin of the name, 129
— — his children, 129
— — of the West-Saxons, his pedigree, 129–150
— — his son Wulfnoth, 129, 130
— — his wife Gŷtha, 130
— — bequest of Cumtûn to, by Prince Athelstan, 136
— — his property in Sussex, 138
— — his descent from Cerdic, 146
— — connexion between Cerne Abbas and Wilmington, 147
— — his acquisition of Bosham, 147, 148
— — genealogical table of, 150
— — William, 40
Grammont, Philibert, Comte de, Memoirs of, 30
Grantham, John de, mayor of London, 160, 164
Green, J. E. S., his paper on 'Castlereagh's Instructions for the Conferences at Vienna,' 103–128
Gregory of Nyssa, 22
Grey, Charles, second earl, 107, 110, 116
Guienne, 162
Guildford, house of the canons of the Holy Cross at, 203, 204
Guildry, *see* Guilds
Guilds, in Scotland; history of, 4–12
— statutes concerning, 11, 13
— in relation to building, 8, 9, 10
Gunhilda, daughter of Harold, 130 *n.*
Guthrie, William, 37
Gyritha, the wife of King Harold Blâtand, 129 *n.*
Gyrth, child of Earl Godwin, 129, 129 *n.*
Gŷtha, origin of the name, 130, 130 *n.*

Hacket, John, bishop of Coventry, his 'Scrinia Reserata,' 28
Hainault, John de, 156, 157
Hallam, Henry, 36, 40, 45
Hambleden, bequest of, by Prince Athelstane, 136–138
Hamelanden, *see* Hambleden
Hardenberg, Charles Auguste, prince de, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, 63, *and passim*
Hardwicke, earl of, *see* Yorke
Hareclyve, hundred of, rate of taxation in, 182
Harleian Library, 34
Harold, origin of the name, 129, 129 *n.*
— Blâtand, king, 129 *n.*
— child of Earl Godwin, 129, 129 *n.*, 146
Harpsfield, 204
Hatfield, Robert de, 158
Hawkesmore, 20
Hawkwood, Sir John de, 154
Heath, James, his 'Brief Chronicle of the late Intestine War,' 26
Hengist, 142
Henry, earl of Lancaster, 151
— — — — his letters to the king, 152
— — — — his letter to the mayor and citizens of London, 152, 160, 161, 166
— — — — his insubordination towards the king, 161, 162, 163
— — — — his submission to Edward III., 163, 164
Herbert, Lord, of Cherbury, 31
Hereweald, *see* Harold
Heriot, George, 18–19, 21, 24
Hervey, George William, earl of Bristol, 125
Heylyn, Peter, his 'Cyprianus Anglicus,' 28
Heyron, John, *see* Chaucer
— Thomas, 152, 165
Higham Ferrers, Henry of Lancaster at, 162
Historical MSS. Commission, 43, 44
History, foundtaion of the British Museum Library, 34, 42, 44, 46
— foundation of clubs for the publication of documents, 42
— English xviith century, its sources, 25–48
— — — — its ecclesiastical sources, 26
— — — — its foreign sources, 32, 44, 45
— — — — development of the study of, 25–48
— — — — political influences on the study of, 36–41, 45, 46

Hobhouse, John Cam, Baron Broughton de Gyfford, 109–110, 110 *n.*
Holles, Denzil, 28
Holm, assessment of movables at, 179
Holy Cross, Order of the, their popular designation of 'Crutched Friars,' 191
— — — — — — their dissolution, 191
— — — — — — confused with other orders, 191
— — — — — — their house near the Tower, 191, 194
— — — — — — their foundation, 194, 195, 196
— — — — — — members as canons regular, 191, 196, 197
— — — — — — present houses, 196
— — — — — — established in France, 196
— — — — — — established in the Low Countries, 196
— — — — — — their first appearance in England, 196, 199
— — — — — — mother house at Huy, 197
— — — — — — form of profession of members, 197
— — — — — — their habit, 199–200
— — — — — — account of, by different writers, 204, 205
— — — — — — appointment of a vicar-general, 206, 207
— — — — — — suppression of houses in England, 207–208
— — — — — — value of English houses, 208
— — — — — — different English houses, 200–208
Horton, assessment of oxen in, 178
Hosier, Ralph, 202, 204, 205
Hospinian, Rudolf, his 'de origine Monachorum,' 194
Humboldt, Charles William, baron de, 85, 88
Hume, David, 33, 38, 39, 43
Hutchinson, Lucy, 41
Huy, monastery of Claire Lieu, 195
— community of the Holy Cross at, 195, 196, 197
— prior of, 196, 197
Hyde, book, of, 132, 143 *n.*
Hyde, Edward, earl of Clarendon, 30, 31
— Henry, earl of Clarendon, 31
— Lawrence, earl of Rochester, 31

Ingham, Oliver de, 161
Inverkeithing, 5
Inverness, trade in, 5
Ipswich, its merchant gild, 6
Isabella, queen, wife of Edward II., 156, 157
— — joined by her son Edward III., 163
— — returns to London, 164
Italy, affairs discussed at the Congress of Verona, 110

James I., *see* England, king of
Jenkins, Sir Leoline, his letters, 31
Jenkinson, Robert Banks, earl of Liverpool, 51, 59, 60, 105, 106, 109, 110, *and passim*
Jones, Inigo, 20
Justinian, Emperor, 22

Kennett, White, bishop of Peterborough, 35–36, 47
Kent, earl of, *see* Edmund
Kildale, 201
Kilwinning, abbey of, 9
Kingston, William de, 160
Kirkham, Nicholas de, taxor, charge of corruption against, 187, 188

Lancaster, earl of, *see* Henry
Lansdown, Lord, *see* Petty
Lardner, Dionysius, 40
Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 28
Law, Edward, earl of Ellenborough, 109
Laybach, Congress of, 128
Layton, assessment of, 188
Leeds Castle, siege of, 153
Lefèvre de la Boderie, Antoine, 32
Leipzig, annexion by Saxony, 68–69, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100
Leland, John, 193, 202, 204
Lêofwine, child of Earl Godwin, 129
— his embassy to Richard, duke of Normandy, 135
Lepers, exemption of, from taxation, 173
Lewes, 130, 153
Lichfield, rate of taxation in, 181

Liège, Henry, bishop of, 195
— foundation of the Order of the Holy Cross near, 195, 200
— cathedral (St. Lambert), 195
Lincoln Cathedral, 18
Linlithgow, 10
Lister, Thomas Henry, 42
Liudolf, duke of Swabia, 143, 143 *n.*
Liverpool Cathedral, 21
— earl of, *see* Jenkinson
— Henry de Lacy, earl of, 162
London, Montague House, 34
— St. Paul's Cathedral, 153
— mediæval, mercenaries furnished from, 153, 154, 155
— Smithfield, 155
— Cripplegate, 159
— Wood Street, Friday Street, 159–160
— mayor of, election of in 1328, 160
— Tower of, street called 'Crutched Friars' near, 191
Louis XVIII., *see* France, king of
Ludlow, Edmund, his 'Memoirs,' 28
Lyons, council of, 196

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, first baron, 41, 45
Mackintosh, Sir James, 40–41, 44
Macpherson, James, his 'Original Papers,' 32
Malmesbury, William of, 132, 139, 140
— abbot of, Ælfric, 145
Malta, Order of, grand master of the, 193
Malyn, John, *see* Chaucer, John
Map, Walter, mediæval author and wit, 147–148
Marcellus, Demartin du Tirac, Comte de, 125
Marson, rate of taxation in, 181
Mary of Lorraine, 11
— Tudor, *see* England, queen of, 11
Masonry, school of, 9, 17
Masons, position and function of, in Scotland, 8, 9, 10
Masons' Lodge, 8, 9
Masson, George Joseph Gustave, 45
Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, 104–143, 143 *n.*
May, Thomas, his 'History of the Long Parliament,' 26
Mayence, dispute for its annexion, 54, 57, 58, 69, 76, *and passim*
McIntosh, Sir James, 106
Melrose, 23
Mercenaries of Henry of Lancaster, 151
— sources showing conditions of, 151, 165
— types of, 152
— London citizens serving as, 153, 154, 155
— their rate of pay, 152, 155, 156, 157
— lack of discipline among, 154, 158, 159, 160, 164
— their displacement of feudal levies, 152, 165
Merchant gilds, 4, 5, 6, 7
— of the staple, 6, 158
— Adventurers, the, 13
Merk, Ralph de, 159
Merley, Juliana de, 200
Mertoke, rate of taxation in, 182
Merton College, Oxford, assessment of lands belonging to, 183, 184
Metternich, Winneburg Ochsenhausen, prince, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 63, *and passim*
Milan Cathedral, 21
— count of, *see* Obizzo
Military service, in the fourteenth century, 151, 153
— — compulsory, 153, 154
Monck, George, duke of Albemarle, 26
Monmouth, earl of, *see* Cary
Montpellier, masons and architects of, 21
Moray Firth, trade in, 5
Morning Chronicle, the, 117, 117 *n.*
Mortimer, Roger, earl of March, 151, 160, 163, 164
— — — — — his ascendency, 152
Mounth, the (Scotland), 5
Municipal life, English and Scottish, *see* Guilds
Munster, Adolphe, comte de, 100
Murray, John, architect, 23
Mylne, Robert, master mason, 18

Nalson, John, his 'Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State,' 30
Namur, community of the Holy Cross established at, 196, 197
Napoleon I., emperor, 53, 55
Nesselrode, Charles Robert, comte de, 56, 71, 73
Newcastle, 154, 159

Newcourt, Richard, the younger, his 'Repertorium,' 194
New Shoreham, rate of taxation in, 182, 183
Nickolls, John, 31
Norfolk, earl of, *see* Thomas of Brotherton
Normandy, duke of, *see* Richard
North, Roger, his 'Lives,' 31, 36
Northampton, parliament held at, 162
— statute of, 162
North Cary, rate of taxation in, 182

Obizzo, count of Milan, 140
Oldmixon, John, 36–37
Oncken, Wilhelm, 49, 51
Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, 129
Ordwulf, alderman of Devonshire, 135
Ormonde, duke of, *see* Butler
Orrery, earl of, *see* Boyle
Orwell, port of, 157
Osbern, *see* Exeter, bishop of, 27
Osborne, Francis, his 'Memoirs'
— Thomas, earl of Danby, his letters, 31
Osferth, 142
Osmutherley, 201
Ospring, near Faversham, hospital of, 205
Otho I., emperor, 143, 143 *n.*
Oxford, 206
— Magdalen College, 194

Paisley, 23
Palmer, Matthew, mercenary, 158
— Gratian, mercenary, 158
Paris, archives at, 44
— Matthew, 199, 199 *n.*
Parliament, Houses of, 34, 35
— members of, their position in 1828, 108–109
Parva Sandon, rate of taxation in, 181
Penn, Granville, his 'Memorials,' 42
Pepys, Samuel, 41
Pershore, abbey of, its foundation, 140
Perth, trade in, 5, 6
Peterborough, bishop of, *see* Kennett
Petty-Fitzmaurice, Henry, marquis of Lansdown, 105
Peyton, Sir Edward, his 'Divine Catastrophe,' 27
Phillips, Edward, his 'History of England,' 26
Pikeman, Andrew, mercenary, 158
Poland, plan to unite with Saxony, 53, 56, 58, 59, 63, *and passim*
Pontiz, William, 20
Popes: Alexander III., 194, 198
— — VII., 198
— Eugenius IV., 197
— Honorius III., 195
— Innocent III., 195
— — IV., 195, 197
— — X., 198
— Leo X., 197, 208
— Pius II., 194, 198
— — IX., 196
Price, John, his 'Mystery . . . of his Majesty's happy restoration,' 28
Prince Regent, *see* England, king of (George IV.)
Prior, Adam, of the Order of the Holy Cross, 204, 205
— Christian, of the Order of the Holy Cross, 207
— Gerard, of St. Mary of Morello, 194
— of Huy, 196, 197, 206
— Peter, of the Canons of the Holy Cross, 200
Prussia, king of, Frederick William, 53, 57, 58
— policy of, at the Congress of Vienna, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, *and passim*

Ralph, James, 36–37
Ramsey Abbey, foundation charter to, 145
Ranke, Leopold, historian, 44, 45, 46
Rawmarsh, assessment of cattle at, 179
Razumowski, Razamoffski, prince, 65, 87, 91
Record Office, 43, 44, 46
Redstone, V. B., his paper on 'Some mercenaries of Henry of Lancaster,' 151–166
Reigate, house of the Canons of the Holy Cross at, 203, 204, 205
Reresby, Sir John, his 'Memoirs,' 30–31
Reyner, Clement, 204, 205
Richard, duke of Normandy, 135
Rivers: Forth, 5
— Rhine, 60, 64, 67, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94

Rivers: Wartha, 84
— Nidda, 84
— Elbe, 94
— Vistula, 98, 99
— Bidassoa, 107
— Meuse, 195
Rochester, Synod of, 199
— dean of, 19, 24
— earl of, *see* Hyde
Roe, Sir Thomas, his letters, 31
Rouen, archives, 20
Rushworth, John, his 'Historical Collections,' 29
Russia, czar of, Alexander, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61 *n.*, 62, 63, *and passim*
— policy of, at the Congress of Vienna, 1814, 50, 52, 53, 54, *and passim*
Rymer, Thomas, his 'Foedera,' 34

Sabernes, William, 202, 204, 205
St. Andrews, 23
St. Camillus de Lellis, his foundation, of the 'Crociferi,' 191
St. Mary of Morello, Bologna, order of 'crossed friars' at, 194, 198, 200
Salisbury, bishop of, *see* Burnet
— cathedral, 18
— parliament at, 160, 162, 163
Sanderson, William, his 'Complete History of . . . King Charles,' 26
San Miguel, 110 *n.*
Santa Sophia, 22
Satrap, the Anglo-Saxon title, 134, 135, 138, 139
Saxony, dispute for the annexion of, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 *n.*, *and passim*
— king of, 60, 67
Schwarzenberg, Charles Philip, prince de, 68, 93, 94
Scotland, king of, William, 4, 5
— Guildry and Trade Incorporations, 2–24
— exports of, 5
— trading towns in, 5, 6, 12, 13
Scutage, 167
Shaw, William, 10
Shrewsbury, 7
Sidney, Algernon, 31
Sigeric, *see* Canterbury, archbishop of
Simancas, archives at, 44, 46
Sloane Library, 34
Sources, historical, of the xviith century, 25–48
Southampton, raided by Danes, 140–141
Spain, the question of, in 1822, 104, 105–108, 110, 110 *n.*
Spalding Club (1839), 42
Spedding, James, 45
Speed, John, 203, 204
Sprigge, Joshua, his 'Anglia Rediviva,' 26
Stadion, Jean Philippe, count de, 68, 93
Stanhope, Edward III. at, 156
Stapleton, Sir Richard de, 158
State Paper Office, 30, 33, 40, 43
Stein, Henry Frederic, baron de, 84, 85
Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, his letters from Vienna, 51
— — — — his foreign policy, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55
— — — — his policy towards France, 55–56, 61–62, 64, 65
— — — — his first steps at the Congress, 53–58
— — — — his policy towards Russia, 56–59, 67
— — — — his relations with the cabinet, 59, 62, 64–66
— — — — his policy towards Austria, 63–64
— — — — his success at the Congress of Vienna, 69
— — — — his instructions for the Conferences at Vienna, 103–128
— — — — his policy at the Congress attacked by Canning, 104, 111, 112, *and passim*
Steying, mint at, 130
Stirling Castle, 10
Strafford, earl of, *see* Wentworth
Strassburg, masonry at, 17
Stratford, *see* Winchester, bishop of, 161
Strype, John, 33
Subsidies, clerical, 167 *n.*
— lay, rate of, 167, 168, 170, 171, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183
— — characteristics of, 167
— — assessment of movables for, 167–170, 172, 174, *and passim*
— — introduction of, 167

Subsidies, clerical, lack of organisation in collection of, 185, 188
— — levied by Henry III., 168
— — — — Edward I., 168
— — — — — II., 169
— — — — — — III., 169
— — difference between rural and urban, 168, 169, 177
— — corrupt practices in the collection of, 169, 174, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185–189
— — minimum amount of property taxed, 172, 182, 184
— — exempted goods, 172, 173, 177, 180
— — rural assessments for, 174–176
— — — on hay, 175, 176
— — — on grain, 175, 176
— — — on cattle, 175, 176, 178, 179
— — — on peas and beans, 175, 176
— — urban, on merchandise, 176
— — — on food in the larder, 176
— — — assessments for, 176
— — — on tools, 176
— — — on articles of luxury and dress, 176
— — — on household goods, 176
— — on carts, 176, 179, 180, 184
Surtees Society (1834), 42
Swabia, duke of, *see* Liudolf
Swaffham, sold to King Edgar, 139
Swegen, son of Earl Godwin, 129
Sweyn, king of Denmark, 135, 136
Sylvester, Matthew, 28

Tallage, levied in London, 155
Talleyrand - Périgord, Charles Maurice, Prince de Bénévent, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, *and passim*
Tamworth, rate of taxation in, 181
Tanner, Thomas, 193, 198, 204, 205
Taxation, different kinds of, 167
— of personal property, *see* Subsidies, lay
Taxors, head, their institution and duties, 170, 171, 173, 174
— — charges of corruption against, 186–189
Temple, Sir William, 28, 31
Ternapole, 96
Thanet, Isle of, harried by Danes, 141
Theodore of Celles, canon of St. Lambert, Liège, 195
Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, 162, 163
'Thomason Tracts,' 34, 40
Thorn, annexion by Prussia, 69, 99
Thoyras, Rapin de, historian, 36
Thurloe, John, his letters, 31
Times, The, 106–107, 113 *n.*
Torgau, 68, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97
Tornham, Ralph de, 159, 160
Tostig, child of Earl Godwin, 129, 129 *n.*
Touchet, James, earl of Castlehaven, 28
Toulouse, community of the Holy Cross established at, 196
Trade, Scottish, history of, 4–16
Trades, Incorporated, 8–12
Treaties, Paris (1814), 54, 55, 56
— Chaumont, 53, 56
Trinitarians, confused with the Order of the Holy Cross, 192, 193
Turk, Walter, mercenary, 158
Turkey, state of, discussed at the Congress of Verona, 110
Tyburn, king's gallows at the Elms near, 158

Vaughan, Robert, 41
Venice, archives at, 44, 46
Vernon, James, 41
Verona, Congress of, 108, 109, 110, 110 *n.*
— — — presentation to Parliament of papers dealing with, 104–108, 114, 115, *and passim*
— — — relations of France and Spain during, 103, 108, 109, 110, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 128
Vicars, John, his 'Parliamentary Chronicles,' 26
Vienna, Congress of, documents relating to the, 49
— — — Castlereagh's policy at the, 50, 51, 52, 53
— — — evidence of the route to, taken by Wellington, 122, 123
Villèle, Jean Baptiste, Comte de, 108, 122, 124
Villiers, Charles, duke of Buckingham, letters and papers of, 29

Vintaine, company of mercenaries levied, 155
Vitry, Jacques de, cardinal, his 'Historia Occidentalis,' 196

Waddeworth, assessment of cattle at, 178
Wake, Sir Thomas, 161, 162, 163
Walbrook Ward, 159
Wallace, William, contractor, 19
Walton (Suffolk), landing of Queen Isabella at, 157
Warburton, Eliot, 42
Warenford, house of the canons of the Holy Cross, 200
Warsaw, Duchy of, 98
Warton, Thomas, 38
Warwick, Sir Philip, his memoirs, 30
— Edward III. at, 162
Webster, C. K., on 'England and the Polish-Saxon Problem at the Congress of Vienna,' 49–101
Weldon, Sir Anthony, his 'Court and Character of King James and King Charles,' 27
Welle, Peter atte, taxor, 183
Wellesley, Arthur, duke of Wellington, 62, 70, 106, 107 *n.*, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, *and passim*
Wellington, *see* Wellesley
Welnetham (Suffolk), community of canons of the Holy Cross at, 193, 201, 202
Welwood, James, his 'Memoirs,' 27
Wentworth, Thomas, earl of Strafford, 31
West, Sir Thomas, 158
White Company, the, 154
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, his 'Memorials,' 28
Willard, Prof. James F., his paper on 'Sidelights upon the Assessment and Collection of mediæval Subsidies,' 167–189
William I., *see* England, king of
— the Lion, *see* Scotland, king of
Williams, John, archbishop of York, 28
Wilmington (Sussex), 'Long Man' at, 147
Wilson, Arthur, his 'History of Great Britain,' 27
— Sir Robert, 110 *n.*
Winchester, bishop of, *see* Elfsige
— Ælfheah, bishop of, 137, 144 *n.*
— Ethelwold, bishop of, 139, 140
— Stratford, bishop of, 161, 162, 163
— earl of, *see* Despenser
— Edward III. at, 163
Windsor, twelve citizens sent to Edward III. at, 163
Winwood, Sir Ralph, his letters, 31
Wistan, assessment of cows at, 178
Wladimir of Novogorod, son of Tsar Uselovod, 130 *n.*
Woden, 142
Wodrow, Robert, his 'History of the Church in Scotland,' 31–32
Wood, Anthony, 28
Worcester, Saxon Chronicle of, 130, 131
Wotton-under-Edge, 201
Wren, Sir Christopher, 20
Wrights and Masons, 10
Wulfnoth, son of Godwin, his imprisonment, 129
— origin of the name, 129, 130
— Childe, Thane of Sussex, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 146, 147
— Child, his lands forfeited by Ethelred, 135

York, 201
— tracing house at, 22
— masonry at, 9
— archbishop of, *see* Williams
— quarrel between Flemings and English at, 157
Yorke, Philip, earl of Hardwicke, 32

Zittau, 98

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, SESSION 1911–1912.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows, as follows.

The ordinary work of the Society has proceeded as usual. In the Library Committee's Report, recently submitted to Fellows, the acquisition of additional rooms in Gray's Inn Place, for storage of books, has been already noticed. This has made it possible to continue the arrangements with the Historical Association for carrying on their work and housing their Library in the Society's rooms. The growth of the Society's Library may possibly make it advisable, at some future date, to supersede these rooms in Gray's Inn Place by others more immediately at hand.

A dinner for Fellows of the Society, and for guests invited by Fellows and by the Society, was held at the Holborn Restaurant on April 17, 1912. The President was in the chair, and about sixty Fellows and guests attended. Several of the latter were subsequently elected Fellows of the Society. It is hoped that after this year, when the Historical Congress may necessitate other arrangements, something of the same kind may become an annual event.

By death the Society has lost, since the issue of the last Report, a most distinguished member—Dr. James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D. He was a member of the Council of the Camden Society, and for many years a Vice-President of our Society, becoming an Honorary Vice-President in 1908. His reputation as an authority on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century history cannot be over-estimated, and his old colleagues would wish here to record their sense of a personal loss also.

At the ordinary meetings, in the Society's Library, the following Papers were read :—

'Some Aspects of Castlereagh's Foreign Policy.' By C. K. Webster, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (November 16.)

'The Eastland Company in Prussia, 1579-1585.' By Professor A. Szelagowski and N. S. B. Gras, Ph.D. (Harvard). (December 21.)

'The Records of the English African Companies.' By Hilary Jenkinson, B.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (January 18.)

'The Commonwealth Charters.' By B. K. L. Henderson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (March 21.)

'The Hungarian Descent of St. Margaret of Scotland.' By Louis Felberman, F.R.Hist.S. (April 18.)

'The Ballad History of the Reign of Charles I.' By Professor C. H. Firth, F.B.A., V.P.R.Hist.S. (May 16.)

'The Parish Clergy of the 13th and 14th Centuries.' By H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc. (June 20.)

At the Annual Meeting the President, the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., LL.D., F.B.A., delivered an address on 'The Family as a Political Unit,' February 15, 1912.

Seven of these Papers have been printed in *Transactions*, Third Series, Vol. VI.

The Alexander Medal for 1911 was awarded to Mr. H. G. Richardson for his essay on 'The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.'

In addition to the above volume of *Transactions*, the following volumes of *Publications* are nearly ready, and will be issued to Fellows and subscribing Libraries at the dates indicated.

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXII. 'The Essex Papers, 1675-1677,' edited by the Rev. Clement E. Pike, F.R.Hist.S. (March.)

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXII. 'The Diary of Major-General Adam Williamson, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1746,' edited by John Charles Fox, F.R.Hist.S., Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature. (March.)

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXIV. 'The Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.' By Miss L. de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc.

The publications of the Society in active preparation include 'The Secret Service under George III.'; 'The Novgorod Chronicle' (translated from the Russian text); and 'The Nicholas Papers,' Vol. IV. (Camden N.S., vol. lxiii).

The attention of readers may be drawn again to the resolution of Council that the duration of Papers read should be limited, if possible, to forty or forty-five minutes, to allow time for discussion. A wish has been expressed that a proof of Papers should be put into the hands of Fellows before each meeting.

It is difficult to arrange for this being always done, but the matter will engage the attention of the Council. The quality of Papers published has more than maintained the previous high level of excellence.

A Library Committee Report has been circulated so recently that it is not necessary to say more than to repeat that the Library continues to increase, largely owing to the generosity of Fellows, and of Dr. Prothero in particular, who has presented in all more than 500 volumes. The number of books and pamphlets added is 290; and seventy-five books were rebound.

The number of Fellows has increased. Fellows can materially aid the Society by the proposal of Historical scholars and students for election.

The Joint Committee of Fellows of the Royal Historical Society and of American scholars for the preparation of a Bibliography of Modern British History is continuing its labours. The first contribution of £50 by the Society to the necessary expenses has been paid.

The attention of Fellows is drawn very especially to the forthcoming Congress of Historical Scholars in London, to be held from April 2 to April 9, 1913, under the presidency of the Right Hon. James Bryce, Hon. V.P.R.Hist.S., and the vice-presidency of Dr. Ward, Master of Peterhouse, another of our Hon. Vice-Presidents. Tickets for admission to the Congress, price £1, can be obtained from Professor Gollancz, British Academy, Burlington House, W. A great number of distinguished scholars from Europe and America are expected to be present, and a full programme of interesting Papers has been arranged. The part to be taken by the Society in the entertainment of the Congress will be announced shortly.

In accordance with By-law XVII., the following Vice-Presidents retired in rotation: Sir J. H. Ramsay, Bt., M.A., and G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., LL.D., and were re-elected.

The following Members of the Council retired also under By-law XVII. and were re-elected:—

R. G. Marsden, M.A.
J. F. Chance, M.A.
Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D.
Professor C. Raymond Beazley, D.Litt., F.R.G.S.

The vacancy in the Council caused by the retirement of Professor Haverfield was filled up by the election of the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, by the co-optation of the Council subject to confirmation by the General Meeting.

The Secretary reports that the total membership of the Society on October 31, 1912, including Honorary, Corresponding, Life, and Ordinary Fellows, and Subscribing Libraries, was 698. Of this number 18 were Honorary Fellows, 14 were Corresponding Members, and 84 were Life Fellows. The annual subscriptions are received from Ordinary Fellows paying £1 1*s.* under the old regulations; former members of the old Camden Society and Subscribing Libraries paying £1; and Fellows paying the statutory subscription of £2 2*s.* There are 60 British and Foreign Societies which exchange *Transactions* with the Royal Historical Society.

The Treasurer reports that the amount spent last year on publications was more than in the previous year, being £312 5*s.* 8*d.*, as against £186 10*s.* 4*d.* Notwithstanding this fact, it has been found possible to add to our invested capital by the purchase of £300 Canada 3½ per Cent. Stock—a sufficient indication that our finances continue in a satisfactory condition.

The Auditors report that they have examined the statement of Income and Expenditure, together with the Balance Sheet appended to this report, and have certified the same to be correct from their inspection of the books and vouchers.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account relating to the Year ending October 31, 1912.

Income.	£	s.	d.	*Expenditure.*	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions of 1909: 1 at 20*s.* £1 0 0				Publications: Printing and Distributing . £343 2 1			
,, 1910 1 at 20*s.* 1 0 0				Editing and Indexing . . 4 13 0			
,, 1911 8 at 20*s.* 8 0 0				£347 15 1			
,, ,, 1 at 21*s.* 1 1 0				*Less* received from Sales . 35 9 5			
,, ,, 10 at 42*s.* 21 0 0					312	5	8
£32 1 0				Salaries of Director and Assistant Secretary and travelling expenses of Hon. Secretary	232	0	0
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear . 12 12 0				Rent of Offices	97	10	0
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate	19	9	0	Coal	3	10	6
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received	8	8	0	Electric Light	3	1	8
Subscriptions of 1912: 221 at 20*s.* . . . 221 0 0				Rates	33	9	8
,, ,, 41 at 21*s.* . . . 43 1 0				General Printing and Stationery	66	5	6
,, ,, 317 at 42*s.* . . . 665 14 0				Library: Books, Periodicals, and Binding . . .	57	19	0
	929	15	0	Postages, &c.	19	12	4
Life subscriptions: 2 at £21 . . . . 42 0 0				Sundries (Petty Cash payments)	47	4	3
Less proportion required by By-Law IX. to be invested (see Balance-sheet) . . . 28 0 0				Advertising	7	3	9
	14	0	0	Insurance	2	5	0
Dividends on Russian 4% Bond (Alexander Trust) . .	3	14	4	Alexander Medal	3	3	0
,, Consols	20	0	0	Monthly Meetings (cost of Refreshments) . . .	9	10	5
,, India 3½% Stock	19	15	8		895	0	9
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank	6	11	2	Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1912, carried to Balance-sheet	126	12	5
£1,021	13	2		£1,021	13	2	

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1912.

Liabilities.

		£ s. d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX.): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£1,150 0 0	
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1912 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	28 0 0	
		1,178 0 0
[Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, Canada 3½% Stock, and Cash on Deposit see *contra*]		
Alexander Trust Fund [Russian 4% Bond see *contra*]		98 17 6
Subscriptions received in advance		21 16 0
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date Viz.—Amount brought forward from last year	£2,784 12 3	2,911 4 8
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure as shown by Income and Expenditure Account	126 12 5	
	£2,911 4 8	
		£4,209 18 2

Assets.

		£ s. d.
Consols 2½% £849 9*s.* 9*d.* valued at		700 0 0
India 3½% Stock £600 at cost		581 3 0
Canada 3½% £300 Stock at cost		285 1 0
Russian 4% Bond		98 17 6
Cash at Bank: Current a/c	£224 12 10	
Deposit Account at Bank	306 11 10	
Petty Cash Balance in hand	5 4 0	
		536 8 8
Stock of Publications at 10 Gray's Inn Place (value as insured)		100 0 0
Stock of Publications with Messrs. Spottiswoode & Co. and Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son (value as insured)		500 0 0
Library (value as insured)		1,000 0 0
,, Manuscripts (value as insured)		100 0 0
Furniture, &c. ,, ,,		300 0 0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)		8 8 0
		£4,209 18 2

(*Signed*) Henry R. Tedder, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct.

(*Signed*) E. M. Lloyd
J. Foster Palmer
T. Cato Worsfold
} *Auditors.*

December 3, 1912.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

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